

ओ३म्

# पाणिनीयव्याकरणसूत्रवृत्तिः॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER FIRST.

वृद्धिरादैच् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, आत्-ऐच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमादैच्चां वर्णानां सामान्येन तद्भाषितानामतद्भाषितानाञ्च ॥

1. आ, ऐ and औ are called vṛiddhi.

This defines the word vṛiddhi. The letters आ, ऐ and औ are vṛiddhi letters. The sūtra consists of three words vṛiddhi, ât and aich. आत् means the long आ, the final त् being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyâhâra aich, and the pratyâhâra ऐच् means the letters ऐ and औ .

The indicatory त् in आत् serves the purpose of showing that the very form आ having two mâtrâs or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This त् also joins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and औ by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) or that "which precedes or succeeds त्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mâtrâs only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mâtrâs may be more than two. A short vowel has one mâtrâ, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mâtrâ. Thus by a rule of सन्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters आ + आ = आ, as महा + आशयः = महाशयः. Here हा has two mâtrâs and not four. So also in खड्गैकः the vowel ऐ the resultant of आ + ऐ has only two, not four, mâtrâs.

Thus the initial vowels in the following secondary derivative nouns are vṛiddhi forms of their primitive vowels. आङ्गः "bodily", from अङ्गः; 'body' ऐच्छिकः "optional", from इच्छा "option"; औपगवः "the son of Upagu", from the word उपगुः meaning "a sage called Upagu." Similarly in शालीयः "belonging to the house" the आ is radical, and is also called vṛiddhi. The word vṛiddhi occurs in sūtras like सिचिवृद्धिपरस्मैपदेषु (VII. 2. 1.) "Let the final इक् of the base get vṛiddhi substitute before the affix सिच् of the Parasmaipada".

अदेङ् गुणः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्-एङ्, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमदेङां वर्णानां सामान्येन तद्भाषितानामतद्भाषितानाम्च ॥

2. अ, ए and ओ are called guṇa.

Each one of the letters अ, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary is called a guṇa letter; as the initial vowels in the following:—अत्ति, "he

moves"; एति "he comes", आसति "he goes." Here the initial vowels of the roots क्, इ, and अक् have been respectively gunated into अर्, ए, and ओ before the third person singular termination ति.

The term Guna occurs in sūtras like निदेर्गुणः (VII. 3. 82). "Let there be guṇa substitute for the ik of the root निद् "to melt."

इको गुणवृद्धी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि॥ इकः । गुण-वृद्धी, (वृद्धिः, गुणः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिगुणौ स्वसंज्ञया (शब्दभाष्येण वा) सिध्यमाणाविक एव स्थाने वेदितव्यौ ॥

3. In the absence of any special rule, whenever guṇa or vṛiddhi is enjoined about any expression by using the terms guṇa or vṛiddhi, it is to be understood to come in the room of the ik vowels only (i, u, ri, and li long and short,) of that expression.

This is a paribhāshā sūtra, and is useful in determining the original letters, in the place of which the substitute guṇa and vṛiddhi letters will come. The present rule will apply where there is the specification of no other particular rule.

Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 declares:—"when a sārvaadhātuka or an ārdhadhātuka affix follows there is guṇa of the base." Here the sthāni or the original expression which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word "ikaḥ" must be read into the sūtra. The rule then being, "when a S. or an A. affix follows there is guṇa of the ik vowels of the base." The guṇa of इ or ई is ए; of उ or ऊ, is ओ, of ऋ or ॠ is अर्, of लृ is अल्; and their Vṛiddhi is ऐ, औ, आर् and आल् respectively. Thus नी + अति = ने + अति = नयति "he leads."

Therefore, wherever in any rule in this Grammar, guṇa or vṛiddhi is ordained by employing the terms guṇa or vṛiddhi, there the word "ikaḥ" in the genitive case, meaning "in the place of ik", is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The word 'ik' is thus understood in the following rules, and is there qualified by the term अङ्ग or 'base':—निदेर्गुणः (VII. 3. 82) वृजेर्वृद्धिः (VII. 2. 114) पुगन्तलघूपथ &c., (VII. 3. 86); ऋच्छस्युताम् (VII. 4.11) ऋशोऽङ्गिगुणः (VII. 4.16) स्थूलदूरयुव &c., (VI. 4. 156).

In the following sūtras, the term 'ik' is understood and qualifies the word āṅga or base, जुसि च (VII. 3, 83), सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः (VII. 3, 84).

These sūtras will be explained in their proper places.

The word 'ik' has been used in the sūtra to show that the long आ, एर् or the diphthongs and इर् or the consonants, are not to take guṇa or vṛiddhi by this

rule, as in the following examples यानम् "a carriage", ग्लायति "he feels aversion," उम्भिता "confined."

Here ग्लायति is formed by adding the affix तिप्, third person singular termination, with the class a affix शप्, to the root ग्ले; as ग्ले + शप् + तिप् = ग्ले + अ + ति. At this stage, rule VII. 3. 84, would require the guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base before the sārvaadhātuka termination अ; the guṇa substitute of ऐ being ए, there would be ग्ले + अति = ग्लयति. But this is wrong, the letter ऐ, being not included in the pratyāhāra ik, is not affected by rule VII. 3. 84, and there is no guṇa substitution in this case. Similarly there is no change in the long आ of यानम्. Thus या + ल्युद् (III. 3. 115) = यानम् (VII. 1. 1). Here had there been guṇa by Rule VII. 3. 84, the आ of या, would have been changed into अ, and the form would have been यनम् which is wrong. But it is not so, as अ is not an इक् vowel. So also उम्भ् + इता = उम्भिता. Here, there is no guṇa substitution in the place of the consonant भ्.

The repetition of the words guṇa and vṛiddhi in this sūtra, (though by अनुवृत्ति or the supplying of a word from the previous sūtra, these words followed from the two preceding sutras) is for the purpose of indicating that, this is a restrictive rule applicable only there, where guṇa or vṛiddhi has been ordained by the employment of the words guṇa or vṛiddhi. Therefore, it is not so in the following cases:—द्यौः "sky", पन्थाः "way" सः "he," इमम् "this." द्यौः is the nominative singular of the base दिव्. It is formed by rule VII. 1. 84, which declares that "in the nominative singular the letter द्यौ takes the place of दिव्." Here the letter द्यौ is no doubt a vṛiddhi letter, but as this substitution is not enjoined by the enunciation of the term vṛiddhi, द्यौ does not take the place of the vowel इ of दिव्, but it replaces the final व्. Thus दि + द्यौ + स = द्यौः.

Similarly rule VII. 1. 85, declares that of the word पयिन्, प्या is the substitute. The प्या is a vṛiddhi letter no doubt, but not being enunciated by the term vṛiddhi, it takes the place of न् of पयिन् and not of इ. Thus we have पन्थाः, the न being added by VII. 1. 87.

Similarly सः from तद्, which is formed by VII. 2. 102 "short अ is the substitute of tyad, &c.," Here अ takes the place of इ. Thus we have त, which is changed again into स by VII. 2. 106.

न धातुलोप आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न , धातु-लोपे ,

आर्द्धधातुके, ( गुणवृद्धी ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वेकदेशो धातुस्तस्य लोपो यस्मिन्नार्द्धधातुके तदार्द्धधातुकं धातुलोपं तत्र वे गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ।'

4. The Guṇa and vṛiddhi substitutions, which otherwise would have presented themselves, do not

take place, when such an *ârdhadhâtuka* (III. 4. 114) affix follows, which causes a portion of the root to be elided.

This is an exception to *sûtra* 3. By that *sûtra* *iks* were to be *gunated* or *vridhdied* and by *sûtra* VII. 3. 84, the root is to be *gunated* before all *ârdhadhâtuka* terminations. All primary affixes, that are applied directly to roots in Sanskrit, are divided into two broad classes, called *sârvadhâtuka* and *ârdhadhâtuka*. The affixes marked with an *indicatory श्* (called *शिच्*), and the conjugational affixes, such as *तिप्*, *त्*: &c., (called *तिह्*) are *sârvadhâtuka*; all other affixes are called *ârdhadhâtuka*.

Though by the general rule, VII. 3. 84, the root is to be *gunated* before *ârdhadhâtuka* terminations, yet it is not to be so, before those affixes which cause the *लोप* 'lopping off or ellipses' of a portion or a member of the original *dhātu*. Thus the termination *इयामि* is a first person singular termination of the future tense (*जूह्*) and is an *ârdhadhâtuka* termination; when this is added to root *जि* 'to excel' the *इ* of *जि* becomes *gunated* and we have *जेय्यामि* "I shall or will excel." But in those cases where there is a *lopa* of the member of a root form, caused by an affix, there is no *gunation*. Thus in *जोनुवः* "a great cutter," the original root is *जू* "to cut" which forms the Intensive verb *जोनुय*. In forming the noun of agency from the verb *जोनुय*, an *ârdhadhâtuka* suffix *अच्* III. 1. 134, is added. Thus *जोनुय + अच्*. At this stage, by force of *sûtra* II. 4. 74. which declares that "before the affix *अच्* (III. 1. 134) the *य* of the Intensive verb must be suppressed," the *ya* is dropped and we have *जोनु + अच्*. Here by the general rule VII. 3. 84, the final *ऊ* would have been *gunated*. But by virtue of the present *sûtra*, no *guna* takes place, because here on account of the *ârdhadhâtuka* affix *अच्*, a portion of the root, namely, *य*, has been elided; therefore no *guna* takes place. Thus we have *जोनुवः* "a great cutter."

The word *धातु* "root" has been used in the *sûtra*, in order to indicate that the exception does not apply where there is an elision of an *anubandha* or of an affix. As in *जुम् + इता = जो + इता = जविता*. Here the *indicatory* letter *म्* has been elided, but that does not prevent *gunation*. Similarly in *रेद्* the affix *विच्* is added to the root *रिच्* "to injure." Thus *रिच् + विच्* (III. 2. 75.) = *रिच् + व्* (I. 3. 2. and 3.) = *रिच् + ०* (VI. 1. 67.) Here the affix *व्* is elided, but nevertheless, the *guna* substitute must take place in *रिच्*. Thus we have *रिच् + ० = रेच्* (VII. 3. 86 and I. 1. 62) = *रेद्* (VIII. 2. 39).

The word *ârdhadhâtuka* has been used to indicate that a *sârvadhâtuka* affix which causes the elision of a portion of a root, does not prevent *guna* or *vridhdhi* as in *रोरवीति*, (Rig Veda IV. 58. 3) "he roars much." *रु + यद्* = *रोरुव* (III. 1. 22). *रोरुव + तिप्* = *रोरु + ति* (II. 4. 74.). Here the *sârvadhâtuka*

affix तिप् causes the elision of च, a portion of the root. The guṇa substitution however takes place, and we have रोरो+इ+ति (VII. 3. 94) = रोत्वीति, the augment ईद् being added by sūtra VII. 3. 94.

The word "ikāḥ" of the previous sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. The ik letters only are not guṇated or vṛiddhied before such ārdhadhātuka affixes; the other vowels may do so. Thus in अभाजि the equation is as follows:—अ+भञ्ज्+चिप्=अ+भञ्+इ (VI. 4. 33). Here the ārdhadhātuka affix चिप् has caused a portion of the root भञ्ज्, to be suppressed, *vis.*, the letter ञ् has been elided. But nevertheless the अ of भञ् is vṛiddhied before चिप् because अ is not included in the pratyāhāra ik; and the exception contained in the present sūtra only applies to the ik letters. So also रञ्ज्+चञ् (III. 3.18) = रञ्+अ (VI. 4. 27.) = रागः (VII. 2. 116. and VII. 3. 52).

इडित्तिच ॥५॥ पदानि ॥ गित्-कित्-डित्-च । (गुणवृद्धी, न) ॥

इतिः ॥ द्विभित्ते ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुवस्ते न भवतः ॥

5. And that, which otherwise would have caused guṇa or vṛiddhi, does not do so, when it has an indicatory क् ग् or इ.

Thus the past participle terminations क्त and क्तवतु are ārdhadhātuka affixes, which would, by the general rule VII. 3. 84, have caused guṇa, but as their indicatory letter क् is इत्, the real terminations being, त् and तवत्, they do not cause guṇa. Therefore, when these terminations are added to a root, the ik of the root is not guṇated. Thus with the root चि "to collect" we have चितः or चितवान्, श्रु, "to hear," श्रुतः, श्रुतवान्; भी; "to fear" भीतः, भीतवान्.

Similarly the terminations क्यप् केलिम्, कसु कानच्, क्त्वा, क्तिन्, &c., are all क्तिन् terminations 'the indicatory letters of all being क्,' the real affixes being च, एलिन्, चस् &c. &c. &c. Before these, the root is not guṇated. Thus we have from भृ "to bear" भृत्व, from भिद् "to pierce" भिसेलिम्.

The terms क्तिन् &c., of this sūtra are in the locative or seventh case. The force of this case termination here is that of निमित्त or cause, that is the guṇa or vṛiddhi which would otherwise have been caused, does not take place, if an affix is क्तिन्, गित्, डित्. Thus all ārdhadhātuka and sāravadhātuka affixes cause guṇation of the *final ik* of the inflective base (VII. 3. 84.) Thus the Sāravadhātuka affix शप् ( अ ) in the following:—

भू + शप् + तिप् = भो+अ + ति = भवति "he is." Similarly sāravadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka affixes cause the guṇa substitution of the short *penultimate ik* of the inflective base (VII. 3. 85.) Thus बुद् + शप् + तिप् = बोधति.

The general force of the locative case in an aphorism is to cause the operation directed, on the expression immediately preceding it (I. 1. 66.) If the force of the locative case in the present sūtra were also that as

explained in I. 1. 66, then the interpretation would be this :—An affix having an indicative k, g or ṅ, would not cause the guṇa substitution of the vowel ik, immediately preceding it. The case of the penultimate short ik will not be covered by it. Then though the rule may apply to चि + क्त = चित् : “collected” it would not apply to भिङ् + क्त; there would be nothing to bar the guṇa substitution of the penultimate इ of भिङ्. This however is prevented by explaining the locative as one of “occasion” and thus भिङ् + क्त = भिङ्गः : “broken.”

Similarly from the root जि we have a word जिष्णुः ‘victorious,’ in which the affix ग्स्नु has an indicative ग्. Thus जि + ग्स्नु = जिष्णुः : “victorious” (III. 2. 139), so also स्यास्नु : “durable,”

Similarly the affix, अह् is a ङित् affix, the real suffix being अ, the ह् being merely indicative. Therefore when अह् is added to a root, there is no gunation or vṛiddhi. Thus we have from विद् “to know’. विद्ः

Similarly by I. 2. 4, all sārva dhātuka affixes that are not marked by an indicative ष्, are treated as ङित्. Thus the second person singular termination तस् is ङित्, and we have चिनुतः “they two collect,” similarly चिन्वन्ति, “they collect,” मृज् + क्त = मृष्टः “cleansed,” मृजन्ति “they cleanse.”

The phrase “when indicated by the term *ik*” is understood in this sūtra. The prohibition, therefore, applies to ik vowels only, and not to all vowels in general. Thus by III. 1. 30, the root कम् “to desire” takes the affix षिङ्; of this affix the letters ष् and ङ् are indicative, the real affix is इ. The force of ष् is to cause vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 116). The indicative इ does not prevent such vṛiddhi, as the letter अ of कम् is not included in ik. Thus we have कामि + अते = कामि + अते = कामयते “he desires.”

According to the wish of the author of the Mahābhāshya, the verb मृज् optionally takes vṛiddhi, before kit or nit affixes beginning with a vowel. As परिमृजन्ति or परिमार्जन्ति “they rub.” Here in this sūtra there is prohibition of the guṇa of the short penultimate ik also.

The indicative इ of the verbal tense affixes *i.e.*, लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, लृङ्, is an exception to this rule of ङित्. This is an inference deduced from III. 4. 104 which declares “when the sense is that of benediction, then the augment यासुद् of जिङ् is as if it were distinguished by an indicative क्.” There would have been no necessity of making यासुद् a कित्, if लिङ् were a ङित्, but the very fact of making यासुद् a कित् indicates by implication or is ज्ञापक that the final इ of लिङ्, लङ् &c. does not make these tense affixes ङित्. Thus in लङ् or Imperfect tense we have अचिनवम् “he collected” (अचिङ् + लङ् = अचिनु + अम् = अचिनो + अम् = अचिनवम्.)

दीधी वेवीटाम् ॥६॥ पदानि ॥ दीधी-वेवी-इटाम्, (गुणवृद्धी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीधीवेवीटाम् इत्ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ॥ ६ ॥

6. Theguna and vṛiddhi substitutions, which would otherwise have presented themselves, do not however come, in the place of the vowels of didhi 'to shine,' and vevi 'to go,' and of the augment called इद्.

The roots दीधी and वेवी never take the guṇa or vṛiddhi substitutions under ordinary circumstances. Thus the affix प्वुल् generally causes vṛiddhi substitution when added to any root; and so the affix ल्युद् causes guṇa. But these affixes when applied to the verbs didhi and vevi, never cause vṛiddhi or guṇa substitution. As आदीधी + प्वुल् = आदीधी + अक (VII. 1. 1) = आदीध्यकः (VI. 1. 77). So also आदीधी + ल्युद् = आदीधी + अन (VII. 1. 1) = आदीध्यन्. Similarly from वेवी we have आवेव्यन् and आवेव्यकः. In the Vedas, however, these verbs take guṇa. Thus अदीधेत् (Rig Ved. X. 98. 7), and अवीधुः (Rig Ved. V. 40. 5). These two verbs are confined generally to the Vedic literature, and the present rule therefore, seems to be an unnecessary prohibition; as they take guṇa in spite of such prohibition.

Of the augment इद् the real affix is इ. In the general tenses, it is added to certain terminations beginning with consonants of the बल् class, *i.e.*, all consonants except च (VII. 2. 35). Thus the future termination, first person, singular is स्यामि; this when added to the root चर् "to move" requires an intermediate इ, and thus we have the form चरिष्यामि, 'I shall walk.' This इ is never guṇated or vṛiddhied, though according to the general rule, coming before an Ārdhadhātuka termination, it ought to have been gunated.

The augment इद्, could under no circumstances have taken vṛiddhi, the prohibition therefore, is in the case of the guṇa substitute of इद्.

ह्रोलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः ॥७॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, अनन्तराः, संयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिन्नजातीयैरन्भिरेव्यवहिताः द्विजटोच्चारिता हलः संयोग संज्ञा भवन्ति समुदाहः संज्ञी ॥

7. Consonants unseparated by a vowel are called conjunct consonants.

This defines the word sanyoga. The sūtra consists of three words, हलः, the plural of the pratyāhāra हल्, denoting all the consonants, अनन्तरः means "without any separation or space" and संयोगः which is the word defined, and means "conjunct consonants." So that the sūtra means, conjunct consonants are those consonants between which there is no heterogeneous separating vowel and which are pronounced jointly, such as क्क in the word कुकुटः, "cock." The word "sanyoga" applies to the whole of the conjunct consonants jointly and not to them separately. The plural number shows that the conjunction may be of two or more consonants.

Why do we say "consonant"? If two vowels come together they will not be called "sanyoga". Thus तितरच्छन्नं "a sieve umbrella," the two vowels अ and इ have come together unseparated by any consonant; yet they are not called sanyoga, otherwise the final इ would have been rejected by VIII. 2. 23 "there is elision of the final of that pada which ends in a sanyoga letter." Why do we say "unseparated by a vowel"? If consonants separated by a vowel were also called sanyoga, then in the sentence पञ्चति पनसम्, the syllable सम् would be called sanyoga, and by VIII. 2. 29, the initial स would be elided.

मुखनासिकावचनो ऽनुनासिकः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुख-नासिका-  
वचनः, अनुनासिकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुखसहिता नासिका मुखनासिका, तथा च उच्यते वर्णः सोऽनुनासिकसंज्ञो भवति ।

8. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called *Anunāsika* or nasal.

This defines the word *anunāsika*. The sūtra consists of four words मुख "mouth" नासिका "nose" वचनः "utterance or pronunciation" and अनुनासिकः "nasals." Though the words मुख + नासिका (II. 4. 2) will by the rule of composition form मुखनासिकं and not मुखनासिका, yet the latter form might be held to be an irregularity; or the phrase मुखनासिकावचनं may be regarded as a compound of मुखनासिक + आवचनं, the word *āvachana* meaning "partial utterance." That is a letter partially uttered by the nose and partially by the mouth would be called *anunāsika*. Therefore the nasals are those letters which are pronounced from two organs or places, *i.e.*, the mouth and the nose. The pure nasal is *anusvāra*, while *anunasikas* are different from this, in as much as, that in pronouncing these, the breath passes through the nose and the mouth.

The vowels are generally so nasalised. 'If, instead of emitting the vowel sound freely through the mouth, we allow the velum pendulum to drop and the air to vibrate through the cavities which connect the nose with the pharynx, we hear the nasal vowels (*anunāsika*).' Thus अँ, आँ. In the Vedas, the particle आह् is *anunāsika*. As अन्न आँ अपः (Rig Veda. V. 48. 1); so also पपिं हुँने गेभीर आँ उप्रपुत्रे (Rig Ved. VIII. 67. 11).

The consonants ङ, ञ, ए, न and म are also *anunāsika*. Thus ङ is pronounced by the throat along with the nose, ञ by the palate and nose, ए by the upper palate and nose; न by the teeth and nose, and म by the lip and nose.

The semi-vowels य, न and ल are also nasalised and are then called *anunāsika*. The term *anunāsika* is used in sūtra V. 1. 126 &c.

Why have we used the word "by the mouth"? This definition will not include *anusvāra* or the pure nasal, which is pronounced wholly through



the nose. Why have we used the word "by the nose"? In order to exclude the consonants क, च, ट, त, प &c. &c., which are pronounced wholly and solely through the mouth.

तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् ॥९॥ पदानि ॥ तुल्य-आस्य-प्रयत्नम्, सवर्णम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्य आस्य प्रयत्नो यस्य वर्णस्य येन वर्णेन सह स समानजातीयं प्रति सवर्णसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ \*ऋकारलृकारयोः सवर्णसंज्ञा वक्तव्या \* ।'

9. Those whose place of utterance and effort are equal are called savarna or homogeneous letters.

This defines the word savarna or a homogeneous letter. The sūtra consists of four words:—तुल्य "equal or similar," आस्य "mouth or place of pronunciation," प्रयत्न "effort" and सवर्णम् "words of the same class."

The आस्य or places or portions of the mouth by contact with which various sounds are formed are chiefly the following:—1. कण्ठ "throat" 2. तालु 'palate,' 3. मुखौ, (head) 4. दन्ता: 'teeth,' 5. ओष्ठौ 'lips,' 6. नासिका 'nose.'

The प्रयत्नम् or quality or effort is of two sorts primarily, आन्तरः "internal" and बाह्यः "external." The first is again sub-divided into five parts:—

1. स्पृष्टम् or complete contact of the organs. The twenty-five letters from क to म belong to this class. In pronouncing these there is a complete contact of the root of the tongue with the various places, such as throat, palate, dome of the palate, teeth and lip.

2. ईषस्पृष्टम् or slight contact. The letters य, र, ल, व belong to this class of contacts. "In pronouncing these semi-vowels the two organs, the active and passive, which are necessary for the production of all consonantal noises, are not allowed to touch each other, but only to approach."

3. विवृतं or complete opening. The vowels belong to this class.

4. ईषद् विवृतं or slight opening. The letters श, ष, स, ह belong to this class. Some however place the vowels and श &c., into one group and call them all vivṛita.

5. संवृतम् or contracted. In actual use, the organ in the enunciation of the short ञ् is contracted but it is considered to be open only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel ञ् is in the state of taking part in some operation of grammar.

The ābhyantara prayatna is the mode of articulation preparatory to the utterance of the sound, the bāhya-prayatna is the mode of articulation at the close of the utterance of the sound.

The division of letters according to ābhyantara prayatna has been already given. By that we get, 1. the sparsa or mute letters, 2. the antastha or intermediate between sparsas and ushmans, or semi-vowel: or

liquid letters, 3. the svaras or vowels or vivṛita letters, 4. the ushmans or sibilants or flatus letters.

The division of letters according to bāhya prayatna gives us first surds or aghosha letters, 2. sonants or ghosha letters. The aghosha are also called svāsa letters, the ghoshas are called nāda letters.

The second division of letters according to bāhya prayatna is into ;  
1. Aspirated (mahāprāṇa). 2. Unaspirated (alpaprāṇa).

The vowel अ has eighteen forms. The *acute* अ (udātta), *grave* अ (anudātta) and *circumflexed* अ (svarita). Each one of these three may be nasalised (anunāsika), or not (niranunāsika).

Then lastly everyone of these six may be short, long, or prolated.  
Thus:—अ, अ, अं, अँ, अँ, आ, आ, आ, आँ, आँ, अः, अः, अं, अं, अँ, अँ.

Similarly the letters इ, उ and ऋ have also eighteen forms. The letter लृ has no long form; it has therefore 12 modifications. The diphthongs have no short forms, they have therefore, only 12 forms. The antastha or semi-vowels with the exception of ए have two forms each *vis.*, nasalised and un-nasalised. The semi-vowels have no homogeneous letters corresponding to them. All letters of a varga or 'class' are homogeneous to each other.

Thus then the homogeneous or savarṇa letters must satisfy two conditions before they could be called savarṇa. First, their place of pronunciation or आस्य must be the same. Secondly their प्रयत्न or quality must be equal. If one condition be present and the other be absent, there can be no savarṇa-hood. Thus च and श are both palatals, their आस्य or place of pronunciation being तालु 'palate,' but still they are not savarṇa, because their प्रयत्न is different, the प्रयत्न of च being sprishṭa and that of श being vivṛita.

Similarly क and च though their प्रयत्न is the same *i.e.*, sprishṭa, yet their आस्य being different, one being guttural and the other palatal, are not savarṇa.

There is exception to this rule in the case of ऋ and लृ, which though having different आस्य are still called savarṇa by virtue of the vārttika of Kātyāyana; "the homogeneousness of ऋ and लृ, one with another, should be stated." Thus होढ + लृकारः = होढृकारः ; here ऋ and लृ have coalesced into long ऋ by rules of sandhi, on the assumption that they are savarṇa letters.

The word savarṇa occurs in sūtras like अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः (VI. 1. 101).

Why do we say "the place of pronunciation"? So that there may not be homogeneous relationship between कचटत and प whose prayatna is the same but whose āsya is different. What is the harm if we make them savarṇa? Then in words like तर्षा and तर्षुम्, the प would be elided, if it be held homogeneous with त, by VIII. 4. 65, "there is optional elision of हर्, preceded by a consonant, when a homogeneous हर् follows."

Why do we say "effort"? That there may be no homogeneity between इ and the palatals, and च and श, whose organ of pronunciation is the same, but whose prayatna is different. What harm if it be so? Then in अरुच्यो-चति, the श would be elided before च by the rule already referred to, VIII. 4. 65.

नाञ् ङलौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न , अच् हलौ, ( सवर्णम् ) ॥

शक्तिः ॥ तुल्यास्य प्रयत्नावपि अङ्गुलौ परस्परं सवर्णसङ्गौ न भवतः ॥

10. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the former sūtra. There can be no homogeneity or savarna relationship between vowels and consonants, though their आस्य and प्रयत्न may be the same. Thus इ and श have the same आस्य namely तालु 'palate,' and the same प्रयत्न : namely vivṛita, but still they are not to be called savarna. Thus in इण्डहस्त, इधिशतिलं &c., the letters अ and इ in the first example, and इ and श in the second not being homogeneous letters; there is no combination or sandhi, which would otherwise have taken place.

Similarly if श and इ be held homogeneous, then विपाश + अण् (IV. 3. 53) = विपाश् + अण् (VI. 4. 148 ; here श would be elided by VI. 4. 148, but it is not so and we have विपाश : "belonging to vipāśā or born therein." So also in आनडुं "ox-skin," the इ would have been omitted, if held homogeneous with अ.

ईदूदेद्द्विवचनम् प्रगृह्यम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईद्-ऊद्-एद्

द्विवचनम् , प्रगृह्यम् ॥

शक्तिः ॥ ईत् ऊत् एत् इत्येवमन्तं द्विवचनं शब्दरूपं प्रगृह्य संज्ञं भवति ॥

11. A dual case affix ending in ई or ऊ or ए is called Pragrihya, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragrihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." (VI. 1. 125). This sūtra gives three of these terminations, viz., the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ई ( ईत् ), ऊ ( ऊत् ), or ए ( एत् ). Thus :—कवी इमौ "these two poets," so also वायु इति "two winds;" माले इति "these two garlands." पचते इति "they two cook" पचथे इति "you two cook." Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final इ of कवी and the initial इ of इमौ ought to have coalesced into an ई, but it is not so, because कवी is the nominative dual of कवि.

Why do we say ending in *ī*, *ū* and *e*? Because when the dual ends in any other vowel this rule will not apply. As वृक्षौ + अत्र = वृक्षावत्र, "these two trees" (VI. 1. 78). Of course it follows from the definition, that ई, ऊ, or ए of the dual number only are prāgrihya; if these vowels terminate any other number they will not be prāgrihya but will follow the general rule of sandhi, as कुमारी (1. s.) + अत्र = कुमार्यत्र, "the girl is here" (VI. 1. 77).

*Vart*: The prohibition of मनीष &c., should be stated in treating of the prāgrihya nature of ई, ऊ &c. Thus मनी (two gems) + इव = मनीष "like two gems." So also इम्पतीव "like a couple," जम्पतीव "like man and wife," रोदसीव "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vārtika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इव, but the particle व only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

अदसोमात् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, मात्, ( इदूदेत् प्रगृह्यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदसः सम्बन्धी यो मकारस्तस्मात् पर ईदूदेतः प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

12. (The same letters) after the *म्* of the pronoun अदस् are Prāgrihya.

In the pronoun अदस्, the dual termination in ई, ऊ or ए will be prāgrihya by force of the last sūtra, but the present sūtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस्, all terminations ending in ई, ऊ or ए and preceded by म, of *whatever number* they may be, will be prāgrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions namely अमी and अमू. The rule may therefore be put in the following words of Dr. Max Muller:—"The terminations of अमी and अमू nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun अदस् are prāgrihya." As अमी अम्वा : "Those horses," and अमू आसते. There is no example of the word *adas* ending in ए.

Why do we say "of the word *adas*"? The letters ई, ऊ, ए following after the *म्* of any other word will not be prāgrihya. As समी + अत्र = सम्यत्र "this *sami* tree."

Why do we say "after the letter म"? Because in the example अमुके + अत्र = अमुके ऽत्र, "those here," the ए, preceded not by म but by the क of अकच् (V. 3. 71) is not prāgrihya, which it would have been by the influence of sūtra 11, which includes ए as well as ई and ऊ, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

शे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शे, ( प्रगृह्यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शे इत्येतत् प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति ॥

13. The affix शे, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a prāgrihya.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which

replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called शे (VII. 1. 39.) Thus अस्नेहन्द्रावृहस्पती .

Of this substitute शे, the initial श is indicatory, the real suffix being ह. This final ह is a pragrihya.

In the sacred literature there is only one example of this pragrihya, as given above; while in imitation of this, we have in secular writing phrases as, स्नेहति, वृष्णे इति, मे इति &c.

निपात एकाजनाङ् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातः , एकाच् , अनाङ् । ( प्रगृह्यम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकश्चासावद्य एकाच् निपातो य एकाच् आङ्त्वजितः स प्रगृह्यसंज्ञो भवति ॥

14. A particle I. 4. 56 consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle आङ् is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of three words:—निपातः “particle,” एकाच् “consisting of one vowel,” अनाङ् “with the exception of आङ्.”

All such particles technically called nipāta (I. 4. 56) which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are pragrihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi. As इ इन्द्र. “Oh, Indra” उ उत्तिष्ठ “O arise.”

It follows from the above definition that those nipātas which consist of two or more letters, vowel and consonant, are not pragrihya, e. g. प्र in प्रान्दवे वाचमीरव .

आङ् which is not a pragrihya, has four significations:— As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, as आ+ उष्णम् = ओष्णम् “little hot, tepid” (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of “near” “nerto,” and with verbs of “motion,” “taking” &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गम् ‘to go,’ आगम् ‘to come;’ अ + इहि = एहि. (3) as showing the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) “from,” “ever since,” as आजन्मनः “ever since his birth,” (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मर्यादा), “till” “until” as आ+अध्ययनात् = आध्ययनात्, “until the reading begins.” When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a pragrihya, as आ एवं किन्नासीत् “Ah! such there once was,” आ एवं मन्यसे. “Oh! do you think so.”

The word एकाच् in this aphorism has a peculiar meaning. It means “consisting of one vowel and nothing else.” In other words, the vowels themselves when used as निपात, e. g. आ, उ, इ &c. But the term एकाच् has a wider signification than that given to it in this sūtra. It means “a word or a portion of a word consisting of one vowel which can be pronounced at once”—in other words एकाच् means a “syllable.” In that sense the words प्र, नि, वि &c., will also be एकाच्, but not so here. Therefore the rule of sandhi will apply

to them, thus प्राग्ने वाचनीरव. See sūtra VI. 1. 1. where the word एकाच् means a monosyllable.

Why do we say "a nipāta?" Because if the single vowel is not a particle, but something else, an affix &c., then it will not be a pragrihya, as the final अ् in चकार "he did," is the affix of third person perfect tense, and is liable to sandhi ; as चकारात्.

ओत् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओत्, ( प्रगृह्यम् ) ॥

इति ॥ ओइन्तो यो निपातः स प्रगृह्य संज्ञो भवति ॥

15. The final ओ of a particle is a pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of one word ओत् the final त् is a surplusage. The words "pragrihya" and "nipāta" are to be supplied from the preceding sūtras to complete the sense. The meaning is that those particles which end in ओ though consisting of several letters, are pragrihya. As अहो अपोहि "Halloo, go away."

सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्षे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बुद्धौ, शाकल्यस्य, इतौ, अनार्षे, ( प्रगृह्यम् ) ॥

इति ॥ सम्बुद्धि निमित्तो य ओकारः स शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य संज्ञो भवति, इति शब्दे जनार्षे अशैतिके परतः ॥

16. The final ओ of the vocative singular (II. 3. 49) before the word इति according to Śākalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragrihya.

This sūtra gives the opinion of the Rishi Śākalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus both forms वायाविति (formed according to the general rule of sandhi) and वायो इति (where ओ is pragrihya) are correct.

In ārsha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता ग मल्लबन्धवित्यन्नवीत्.

The mention of the name of any sage, such as that of Śākalya in this sūtra, serves generally one of the two purposes :—(1) either it makes the rule an optional one, vibhāśārtham, or (2) the mention is merely for the sake of showing respect to the particular sage, the rule would have stood as well without such mention ; pujārtham, as the word Kāsyapa in sūtra I. 2. 25.

उञ्जः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्जः, ( प्रगृह्यम् शाकल्यस्येतावनार्षे ) ॥

इति ॥ उञ्जः प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवति इतौ शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

17. The particle उञ् before इति, according to Śākalya is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of the single word उञ् meaning उ . According to the same Rishi Śākalya, उञ् is a pragrihya, before इति, in modern Sanskrit. This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or विति.

ऊँ ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊँ, ( शाकल्य०, उजः, प्रगृह्यम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उज इतावनापे ऊँ इत्ययमादेशो भवति क्षीर्षोऽनुनासिकः शाकल्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य संज्ञकश्च ॥

18. The particle ऊँ replaces उज in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrihya in the opinion of Śakalya.

Before the word इति the word उज् is replaced sometimes by ऊँ the long nasal *ū*. Thus ऊँ + इति = ऊँ इति or विति.

In some authorities the sūtras 17 and 18 form but one sūtra, and then it is divided by the method of *yoga-vibhāga*, the division of a single sūtra into two separate sūtras having two distinct rules.

ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईदू-ऊतौ, च, सप्तमी-अर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईदन्तमूर्धन्तश्च शब्द रूपं सप्तम्यर्थे वर्तमानं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति ॥

19. The final ई and ऊ of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragrihya.

This sūtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sūtra (VII. 1. 39) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes *sup* are often replaced either by सु (1. s.), or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or आ, or आत्, or शे, or या, or डा, or डा, or डा, or यात्, or आत् takes their place." Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is डि (इ). In forming the 7. s. of तनु "body," we have तनु + इ. The इ will be changed into a homogeneous letter with ऊ and we have तनु + ऊ = तनु "in the body," as, अध्यर्था मामकीतनु (for मामक्यां तन्वां). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तन्वां. Similarly गौरी + इ = गौरी "on the Gauri," as सोमो गौरी अधिभितः (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long *ī* and *ū* are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrihya.

It is only long *ī* and *ū* which are pragrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) दा (ā) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus अग्नि + डि = अग्नि + डा = अग्ना 'in the fire,' as, मियः सूर्ये मियो अग्ना भवति य इन्द्राय सुतसोमो इवाशान् (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here अग्ना though in the locative case, its final is not pragrihya. Therefore अग्ना + इति = अग्नेति.

The ई and ऊ must be of the 7th case. Therefore मति + टा (3rd s.) = मति + इ (letter homogeneous with the prior) = मती 'with wisdom'. Here *ī* is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrihya. Thus मती + इति = मताति.

The word **स्ये** is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound of **वाप्यान्** "in the well" and **स्य** "horse," the case-affix is elided, and we get **वापी + स्य**. Here, no doubt, the word **वापी** is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long **ई** of **वापी** has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, **वाप्यस्य**: "the horse near the well." In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final **ई** or **ऊ** of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (*pûrva-pada*); for words like **वापी** &c., in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case; while words like **गौरी**, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

**दाधात्वदाप् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ दा , धा , घु , अदाप् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥** हारूपाश्वत्वारो धात्वो धारूपौ च द्वौ, सद्यैषो वर्जयित्वा घुसंज्ञका भवन्ति ॥

20. The verbs having the form of **dâ** 'to give' and **dhâ** 'to place,' are called **ghu**.

This defines the word **ghu**. Four verbs have the form of **दा**, or assume it by the application of VI. 1. 45, and two, of **धा**; they are called **घु**. The **ghu** verbs have certain peculiarities of conjugation to be described hereafter.

The **घु** verbs are the following:—**दुहाम्** "to give," as **प्रणिहसति**; **दाप्** "to give," as, **प्रणिसता**; **सो** "to-cut," as, **प्रणिस्यति**; **देह्** "to pity" as, **प्रणिस्यते**, **दुधाम्** "to place" as, **प्रणिस्यति**, **धेद्** to "feed" as, **प्रणिस्यति**.

In the above examples, because of the verbs being **घु**, the **न** of **पनि** is changed into **ण** by VIII. 4. 17.

Similarly **दाप्** "to cut" and **देह्** "to clean" not being called **घु**, rules VII. 4. 46 and 47 do not apply to them. Thus **दा + क्त** = **दात्** 'what is cut,' as, **दात् बर्हिः**. So also **अवदात्** "washed" as, **अवदात् मुखं** "a bright face." But with **दा** "to give," &c. **दा + क्त** = **दद् + त** (VII. 4. 46) = **दत्तः** "given;" so also we have **प्र + दा + क्त** = **प्रदत्तम्** (VII. 4. 47). The word **घु** occurs in *sûtra* VI. 4. 66, &c. The word **dâp** includes also **daip** by the *paribhâshâ* given under III. 4. 19, **दै** changed into **दा** by VI. 1. 45.

**आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-अंत-वत्, एफस्मिन् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥** आदाविव अन्वहव एकस्मिन्नपि कार्ये भवति ॥

21. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

This is an *atideśa* *sûtra* and consists of four words, **आदि** "beginning," **अन्त** "end," **वत्** "like," **एकस्मिन्** "in one;" the literal translation being "beginning is end-like in one." The affix **वत्** has the force of the locative, and the



meaning is "on the beginning," and "on the end," i.e., let an operation be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final. Thus by III. 1. 3. an affix has udatta or acute accent on its initial vowel. Thus the affix tavya has accent on the first अ, and we have कूर्त्तव्यम्. But when an affix consists of a single vowel, it is itself the beginning and the end, and, as such, will have the accent. As in औपगवम् aupagavam the last अ has the accent, which अ represents the affix अम्.

Similarly, by VII. 3. 102, the final of a base ending in short अ is lengthened before a case-affix beginning with a consonant of वम् class. Thus राम+भ्याम्=रामाभ्याम्. This rule will apply when the word consists of one letter only, and that letter is a short अ. Thus अ+भ्याम्=आभ्याम् "by those two." Here it must not be objected that the solitary अ is initial, and cannot be final.

Why do we say "in one"? If a word consists of more than one letter, then the beginning is not like the end. Thus in the word सभा the initial short अ is not like the final long आ; otherwise सभा would get the name of वृद्धम् (I. 1. 73), and the secondary derivative from सभासन्नयन would be formed by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). But this is not so, the affix अम् is employed instead, and the form is सभासन्नयनः.

तरप्तमपौ घः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरप्-तमपौ, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तरप् तमप् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ घ संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

22. The affixes tarap and tamap are called व.

This sūtra defines व affixes. They are two, तर and तम, the व् in them being इत्. The special use of these affixes will be described later on. These affixes are useful in forming the comparative and the superlative degrees respectively of adjectives, adverbs, &c. The base undergoes certain changes before these terminations, which will be treated of in its proper place.

Thus the words कुमारितरा and कुमारितमा are formed by adding the affixes तर and तम to the word कुमारी 'a girl,' whose long ई is shortened before these affixes by sūtra 43 of the third chapter of the 6th Book.


बहुगणवतुडति संख्या ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-गण-वतु-डति, संख्या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुगणवतुडति इत्येते संख्यासंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ \*अर्द्धपूर्वपक्ष पूरणप्रत्ययान्तः संख्यासंज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्, समासकम् विपर्ययम् ॥

23. The words bahu 'many,' gana 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and dati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhya).

This sūtra defines the word saṅkhyā, or numeral. ✓

These are certain words, besides the ordinary numerals, having some peculiarity of declension. The words like बहु 'many,' and गण 'class,' and those that have the affixes वत् and ङति after them, belong to this class. The letters उ and ङ of वत् and ङति are , or indicatory, the actual affixes being वत् and ङति.

The word saṅkhyā means "numerals;" and this class contains, among others, the Sanskrit numerals. The words formed by adding वत् are generally compound pronouns, e. g. तावत् "so much," यावत् "as much," एतावत् "so much," similarly words formed by the affix ङति, e. g. कति "how many," तति "so many," यति "as many."

Thus बहु + कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17) = बहुकृत्वः "many times" the affix कृत्वसुच् being added only to saṅkhyā words in the sense of the repetition of the action. So also बहु + धा (V. 3. 42) = बहुधा "in many ways." Here also the affix धा is added by virtue of बहु being a saṅkhyā. Similarly बहुकः (V. 1. 22) "purchased for a big sum," बहुशः (V. 4. 43) "manifold." So also गणकृत्वः, गणधा, गणकः, गणशः; so also तावत्कृत्वः, तावद्धा, तावच्छः; कतिकृत्वः, कतिधा, कतिकः, कतिशः.

When the words बहु and गण mean "abundance" and "multitude" they are not saṅkhyā. It is only when they are expressive of numbers, that they get the designation of saṅkhyā. The necessity of defining saṅkhyā arose in order to exclude such words as भूति "numerous," &c., which though they express numbers, are not to be treated as "numerals," technically so called.

*Vart:*—The word अर्द्ध "half" when standing as a first term in a compound number which takes an affix giving the sense of an ordinal, gets the designation of saṅkhyā, for the purposes of the application of the rules of samāsa and of the affix कन्. The ordinal affixes or pūraṇa pratyayas are like षट् (V. 2. 48), मद् (V. 2. 49), यक् (V. 2. 51), &c. Thus एकादशः "eleventh," पंचमः "fifth," चतुर्थः "fourth," &c. Similarly we have अर्द्धपंचमशर्षः "purchased for 4½ baskets" (a dvigu). Here अर्द्ध + पंचमा (an ordinal) = अर्द्धपंचम्, a bahuvrīhi compound meaning 4½, viz., that in which half is the fifth term. अर्द्धपंचमैः शर्षैः क्रीतः = अर्द्धपंचमशर्षैः the taddhita affixes षञ् and अञ् required by V. 1. 19 and 26 being elided by V. 1. 28.

Here, there is compounding (dvigu) by taking अर्द्धपंचमम् as a saṅkhyā, and then applying sūtra II. 1. 51. The samāsa here is in the sense of taddhita, and this compounding is only possible by rules (II. 1. 50 and 51), when अर्द्धपंचमम् gets the appellation of saṅkhyā. Having got this name, it forms dvigu compound in the sense of the taddhita affixes अञ् and षञ् (V. 1. 26). The word शर्षे takes both these affixes in the sense of "being

bought with." Thus शौर्षिकम् and शौर्षम् both mean "bought with a measure called śūrpa." In the above compound of अर्द्धपंचमर्षः the sense is that of the above-named taddhita; but the affixes have been elided by V. 1. 28 after dvigu compounds. So also we have अर्द्धपंचमकः by applying the affix कन्. For these two purposes, namely samāsa and the application of कन्, compounds of ardha, like ardha-pañchama are treated as saṅkhyā.

षण्णान्ता षट् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष्-ण्-अन्ता, षट्, (संख्या) ॥

शक्तिः ॥ षकारान्ता नकारान्ता च या संख्या सा षट्संज्ञा भवति ॥

24. The Sankhyās having ष or न as their final are called shat.

This sūtra defines the term षट् which is a subdivision of the larger group saṅkhyā. Those saṅkhyās which end in ष् or न् are called षट्. The word saṅkhyā is understood in this sūtra, because the word षण्णान्ता is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies saṅkhyā which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न are six, namely पंचन् 'five,' षष् 'six,' सप्तन्, 'seven,' अष्टन् 'eight,' नवन् 'nine,' दशन् 'ten.'

It is one of the peculiarities of षट् words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22). Thus षट् सिद्धान्ति, पंच गच्छन्ति ॥

The word अन्त in the sūtra shows that the letters ष and न must be aupadeśika i.e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in शतानि 'hundreds,' सहस्राणि 'thousands,' अष्टानाम् 'of eights' the न is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not षट् and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided; as शतान् + इ = शतानि &c.

इति च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इति, च, (संख्या, षट्) ॥

शक्तिः ॥ इत्यन्ता या संख्या सा षट्संज्ञा भवति ॥

25. And the saṅkhyās ending with the affix dati are called shat.

This sūtra enlarges the scope of the definition of षट् by including in it, words formed by इति. By sūtra 22, words in इति are already saṅkhyā; by this they are also षट्. Therefore we have कति पठन्ति, 'how many are reading,' कति पश्य 'see how many.' Here कति has lost its plural termination by VII. 1. 22.

क्तक्तवतु निष्ठा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त-क्तवतु, निष्ठा ॥

शक्तिः ॥ क्तश्च क्तवतुश्च क्तक्तवतु प्रत्ययौ निष्ठासंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

26. The affixes kta and ktavatu are called Nishthā.

This defines the nishṭha affixes, that is to say, the affixes of the past participle. The actual affixes are क्त, क्तवत्, the क and व being indicatory. They being क्तिन् are liable to all the rules applicable to क्तिन् affixes, such as rule I. 1. 5. Thus we have, कृतः, कृतवान्, भुक्तः, भुक्तवान्.

The force of the indicatory व in क्तवatu is, by IV. 1. 6, to indicate that in forming the feminine of nouns ending in an affix having an indicatory vowel of ūk pratyahāra (उ, ञ्, ल्), the affix डीप् (ई) must be added. Thus कृतवत् (masc.), कृतवती (fem.). The word nishṭhā occurs in sūtra VII. 2. 14.

सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-आदीनि,  
सर्वनामानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्द आदियेषां तानीमानि सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

27. The words sarva, 'all,' and the rest are called sarvanāma or pronouns.

This defines sarvanāma or pronominals. To know what are the other words comprised in the phrase 'and the rest' we must refer to Pāṇini's Gaṇapāṭha where a list of all groups referred to in the sūtras, is given. Thus we know from it, that the following are sarvanāma:—

सर्वे 'all,' विश्व 'all,' उभ 'two,' उभय 'both,' words formed by the affix उत्तर such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix उत्तम as कतम 'which of many,' अन्य 'other,' अन्यतर 'either,' इतर 'other,' स्वत् 'other,' स्व 'other,' नेम 'half,' सम 'all,' सिम 'whole,' स्वत् 'he, she, it,' तत् 'he, she, it,' यत् 'who,' एतत् 'this,' इत् 'it,' अत् 'that,' एक 'one,' द्वि 'two,' युष्मत् 'you,' अस्मत् 'I,' भवत् 'you,' किम् 'what.' So also पूर्वे 'east,' 'prior,' पर 'subsequent,' अपर 'west or posterior,' दक्षिण 'south or right,' उत्तर 'north or inferior, subsequent,' अपर 'other or inferior,' अधर 'west or inferior,' are sarvanāmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also स्व when it does not mean a 'kinsman or a treasure,' but means 'own.' So also अन्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanāma.

There are certain peculiarities in the declension of sarvanāma words. Thus सर्वे though ending in अ, is not declined like नर which also ends in अ, the plural of सर्वे being सर्वे, that of नर being नराः. Similarly the dative singular नराय, सर्वस्वै; the abl. sing. नरात्, सर्वस्मात्; the loc. sing. नरे, सर्वस्मिन्; the Gen. pl. नराणाम्, सर्वेषाम् &c.

The compounds (with certain exceptions) ending in these words are also sarvanāmas. The word उभ 'both' is always used in the dual number as उभौ, उभाभ्याम्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of नर), is its taking the augment अकच् (V. 3. 71) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal

as उभक्तौ. Another object gained by its being so called, is the application of II. 3. 27, by which a pronominal may take the case-affix of the 3rd case or the 6th case in denoting cause.

There are two सर्व in the above list, namely (सर्वन्) and (सर्व), having the same meaning, and both ending in च्. But the final च् of one is udâtta, and of the other anudâtta. Some give one सर्वन् only and not the other, and say that both have anudâtta accent. The word सर्वन् is a sarvanâma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व 'all,' and not when it means 'equality.' When it has the latter sense of 'equality,' it is declined like नर i. e. like ordinary words ending in च्, as Pāṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10, where he uses the regular genitive plural समानाम्, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the genitive plural would have been सर्वेषाम्.

The above words sarva &c. are not to be treated as pronouns when they are used as appellatives. For example, if सर्वे be the name of a person then it will be declined like ordinary nouns, as सर्वाय देहि 'give to Sarva (a person)'. Here the dative singular is regularly formed. Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are (उपसर्जन) they are not treated as sarvanâma, but follow the regular declension, as अतिसर्वाय देहि 'give to (him who is) above all.' Here in the compound अतिसर्वे 'Above-all' or 'Supreme Being,' the word सर्वे loses its independent character and defines and determines the sense of another word. Fuller explanation of the word (उपसर्जना) will be given later on in I. 2. 43. This term सर्वनाम is an अन्वर्थसंज्ञा that is a term the application of which accords with its meaning. ANVARTH-SANJNA

**विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा,  
दिक्-समासे, बहुव्रीहौ, ( सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दिशां समासो दिक्समासो द्विगुपदिष्टे समासे बहुव्रीहौ विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनाम संज्ञानि भवन्ति ।'

28. The above words are optionally sarvanâma when they occur in a bahuvrihi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26.)

This is an exception to sūtra 29 which follows. As a general rule (see sūtra 29), in bahuvrihi compounds, these words sarva &c. are declined like ordinary nouns. The present sūtra declares an option to this, in special cases relating to compounds signifying direction. Thus the bahuvrihi compound of direction उत्तरपूर्वा 'north-east' may form its dative case as a pronominal, e.g. उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or it may form its dative like ordinary words ending in च्, i. e. उत्तरपूर्वायै. So दक्षिणपूर्वस्यै or दक्षिणपूर्वायै.

Why do we say "when signifying a direction"? The next sūtra will enjoin that in bahuvrīhi compounds, these words are not treated as pronominals. Therefore, if in the present sūtra, we had not used the word दिक्, it would have been impossible to know where there was option and where prohibition. By employing the word "direction," it is thus determined, that in a samāsa, relating to direction (II. 2. 26), there is allowed option, while there is prohibition in all other kinds of bahuvrīhi compounds.

Why do we say "in compound"? So that the option may be in that bahuvrīhi which is purely samāsa, and in no other bahuvrīhi. There is no option allowed in that bahuvrīhi where there is a semblance of bahuvrīhi but not exact bahuvrīhi.

The quasi-bahuvrīhi, or analogical bahuvrīhi compounds, or to use the Sanskrit phrase, bahuvrīhi-vadbhāva, is taught in sūtra VIII. 1. 9. where words in repetition are treated like bahuvrīhi. Thus एकं + एकं = एकैकम् 'one and one, each one.' Bahuvrīhi compounds are possessive compounds, but in the above example, no idea of possession enters. However the compound here is treated like a bahuvrīhi, for the purposes of the elision of the case-affix of the first member, and the whole compound gets the designation of prātipadika. In compounds like this, therefore, which are bahuvrīhi-vat, but not exactly bahuvrīhi, the present rule and the succeeding sūtra do not apply. Thus एकैकस्ते देहि 'give to each one,' दक्षिणदक्षिणस्यै देहि ॥

Why do we say "in the bahuvrīhi"? So that there may be no option in the dvandva compound. Thus दक्षिणोत्तरपूर्वेषाम् 'of the south, north and east.' The prohibition in the case of dvandva by rule 31 is absolute and invariable.

न बहुव्रीहौ ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, बहुव्रीहौ, ( सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि, समासे ) ॥

शुक्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

29. The words sarva &c., are not sarvanāma when occurring in a bahuvrīhi compound.

As a general rule (see sūtra 72), when any definition, rule, operation &c. is made applicable to a particular word, the same would also apply to any other word which ends in that word. Thus the plural of man being 'men' in English, the plural of blackman will be blackmen. So the definition of sarvanāma given to sarva &c., separately, will also apply to the words ending in sarva &c.

This sūtra introduces thus an exception to sūtra 27. In bahuvrīhi or possessive compounds, the nature of which compounds will be described

later on, the above mentioned words are not pronominals, and must follow the ordinary rule of declension. Thus the compound **प्रियविश्व** meaning 'beloved of all' is a bahuvrīhi compound of **प्रिय** 'beloved,' and **विश्व** 'all,' (which is a sarvanāma). The declension of this compound will follow the general rule. Thus, in the dative singular, we have **प्रियविश्वाय**, though the dative singular of **विश्व** by itself is **विश्वस्मै**, like other pronominals. So also **प्रियोभयाय** "to him who is beloved of both." So also **द्वयन्याय**, **त्रयन्याय** &c.

Similarly in bahuvrīhi compounds, these words not being treated as pronominals, they do not take also the special affix **अकच्**, but the general affix **कन्**. As, **स्वत्कपिदको**, **मत्कपिदको** (V. 3. 70).

Though the word bahuvrīhi was present in this sūtra by anuvṛitti from the last aphorism, the object of using the word bahuvrīhi again in this sūtra, is this:—that the prohibition may apply to those expressions also which are no longer bahuvrīhi, but whose original components were once bahuvrīhi. Thus the words **ब्रह्मान्तरा** and **वसनान्तरा** are bahuvrīhi compounds; but when these two words are further compounded into a dvandva compound, the present rule still applies. As, **ब्रह्मान्तरावसनान्तराः** ॥

**तृतीयासमासे ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-समासे, ( सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि, न, ) ॥**

**शक्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥**

30. In Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanāma.

This is another exception to the definition of sarvanāma. There is a class of compounds in Sanskrit called **tatpurusha** compounds, in which the last word governs the preceding one. The word governed may be in any one of the six cases: when it is in the third or instrumental case, the compound is called **trītiyā tatpurusha**. When, therefore, there is such a samāsa, the words mentioned in sūtra 26 are not to be declined like pronominals. Thus the word **मासपूर्व** is a compound of **मास** and **पूर्व** = **मासेनपूर्व** meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word **māsa** is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e.g. its dative will be **मासपूर्वाय**, though the dative of **पूर्व**, when standing by itself, is **पूर्वस्मै**; so also **संवत्सरपूर्वाय** ॥

The **trītiya-samāsa** of the present sūtra has reference to the special **trītiyā-samāsa** ordained by the particular sūtra II. 1. 31. namely, "that which ends with the 3rd case affix, is compounded with the words **pūrva**, **sadṛśa**, **sama**, &c." and has not reference to the **trītiyā-samāsa** in general, such as one ordained by II. 1. 32, "that which ends with the 3rd case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded diversely with what ends in a

kṛit affix." Therefore, in phrases स्वयंका कृतं 'done by thee,' मयंका कृतं 'done by me,' these words are treated as pronominals, though in the instrumental case followed by a word ending in a kṛit-affix. In other words, reading this sūtra with II. 1. 31, we find that pūrva is the only sarvanāma which is so compounded, and to which only the present sūtra would seem to apply.

The word समास may appear to have been mentioned redundantly, as it has already been mentioned in the previous sūtra, the primary object of the sūtra authors being to shorten the rules by the keeping out of every unnecessary word. But here, the word समास has been repeated, to show that even in phrases like मासेन पूर्व्याय, though not a compound, but used in construction with an instrumental case, the word पूर्व is not a sarvanāma, that is to say, the prohibition extends even to phrases, which bear the sense of the instrumental compound, though not exhibited in the form of the instrumental compound.

द्वन्द्वे च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे, च. (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि, समासे, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे च समासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

31. And in Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words sarva &c., are not sarvanāma.

This sūtra mentions another exception. In collective compounds the above words are not sarvanāma. Dvandva is a compound in which two words are simply joined together, the compound taking the terminations of the dual or plural according to the number of compounded words, or the terminations of the singular, being treated as a collective term. Thus, the compound वर्णाश्रमेतर means, वर्ण 'the castes,' आश्रम 'the orders' and इतर 'the others'. The word इतर in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the genitive plural we have:—वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् and not इतरेषाम्. So also पूर्वापराणाम् 'of the priors and the posteriors.'

The word च 'and' in the sūtra indicates that it closes the list of exceptions or prohibitions that began with sūtra. 29.

विभाषा जसि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, जसि, ( सर्वादीनि, सर्वनाम, द्वन्द्वे समासे, न ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे समासे जसि विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

32. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanāma when the nominative plural termination jas follows.

This is a proviso to sūtra 31, and declares that before the termination जस् (which is the termination of the nominative plural, as we shall find later on, and which in the pronominals is replaced by शी), the dvandva



compounds may be treated either as sarvanāmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्षाभ्रमेतर may be either वर्षाभ्रमेतराः or एतरे, that is, the word may take either जस् or शी.

This sūtra governs the four succeeding sūtras. The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix जस् 1st pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71). There the sūtra 31 is absolute. Thus, कतरः+ कतमकः = कतरकतमकाः in the plural. This affix अक (अकच्) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

प्रथमचरमतयारुपाद्धकतिपयनेमाश्च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथम-  
चरम-तय-अरुप-अर्द्ध-कतिपय-नेमाः, च (विभाषा जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथम चरम तय अल्प अर्द्ध कतिपय नेम इत्येते जसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

33. And also the words prathama 'first'; charama 'last,' words ending with the affix taya (V. 2. 42); alpa 'few' ardha 'half' katipaya 'some,' and nema 'half' are optionally sarvanāma, before the nom. pl. termination.

Thus we have प्रथमे or प्रथमाः, चरमे or चरमाः, अल्पे or अल्पाः, अर्द्धे or अर्द्धाः, कतिपये or कतिपयाः, नेमे or नेमाः, हितये or हितयाः ॥

The words "optionally when the affix जस् follows" are understood in this sūtra. The governing force of the word "dvandva" does not extend to this, and stops at this. By the word तय in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix तय. The rest are prātipadikas or crude bases. The word नेम has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called prāpta-vibhāṣā, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like नर, the rest of its declension is like sarva, while in the case of prathama &c. the nom. pl. may be like sarva, but the rest of their declension must be like that of nara. The word ubhaya, has been formed by the addition of the affix तय, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sūtra its nom. pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix kan or akach must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then akach, otherwise kan.

पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ३४ ॥  
पदानि ॥ पूर्व-पर-अवर-दक्षिण-उत्तर-अपर-अधराणि, व्यवस्थायाम्, असंज्ञा-  
याम्, ( विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वदीनि विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥

34. The words *pûrva* 'prior,' *para* 'after,' *avara* 'posterior,' *dakshina* 'south,' *uttara* 'north,' *apara* 'other,' and *adhara* 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally *sarvanâma* before the affix *jas*.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of *sarvanâmas*. They are always *sarvanâmas*, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, *i. e.*, when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than the one which has been determined or fixed for them, they are not *sarvanâmas*, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञां). Thus, when the word *दक्षिण* means 'clever,' it is not a *sarvanâma*, as, *दक्षिणा इमे गायकाः* 'these clever minstrels,' similarly in *उत्तराः कुरुवः* 'the northern Kurus,' the word *उत्तर* is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a proper noun.

When these seven words are *sarvanâma*, they are declined like *sarva*, except in the nominative plural, when they may be declined either as *sarvanâmas*, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a *prâptavibhâsâ*.

That there is a 'specification' (*niyama*), or tacit implication, of a determinate point (*avadhi*), with reference to which something is to be described by the word itself, is what we mean when we say "that a relation in time or place (*avasthâ*) is implied." For example, if we wish to describe Benares as being southern (*dakshina*), to do this, we may specify some point, say one of the peaks of the *Himâlayâ* with reference to which Benares may be described as a "place to the southward." Again we in the north may thus speak of the people to the south of the *Vindhyâ* mountains, as being southern, not with reference to the inhabitants of Ceylon, but with reference (as every one here understands by tacit implication) to us ourselves, who live to the north the *Vindhya* range. Thus, (पूर्वे or पूर्वाः, अग्रे or अग्राः, परे or पराः) दक्षिणे or दक्षिणाः ; उत्तरे or उत्तराः ; अपरे or अपराः ; अधरे or अधराः.

स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, अज्ञाति-धन-  
आख्यायाम्, ( विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वमित्येतच्छब्दरूपं जसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति न चेज् ज्ञाति धनयोः संज्ञारूपेण वर्त्तते ॥

35. The word *sva* 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property is optionally *sarvanâma* before the affix *jas*.

The word *स्व* when it does not mean a *ज्ञाति* 'kinsman' or *धन* 'property' or 'wealth' is always a *sarvanâma*, in every number and case, as it has been

enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus स्वे पुत्राः or स्वाः पुत्राः 'one's own sons,' स्वे गावः or स्वा गावः 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' स्वाः alone is the nom. pl. As, स्वा ज्ञातयो 'these kinsmen' प्रभूताः स्वाः 'much riches'.

अन्तरं बहियोगोपसंव्यानयोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरम्-बहियोग-उपसंव्यानयोः ( विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरनित्येतच्छब्दरूपं विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति बहियोग उपसंव्याने गम्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ \*अपुरीति च वक्तव्यम्\* ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ \*विभाषा प्रकरणे तीर्थस्य वा द्वित्सु सर्वनामसंज्ञेत्युपसंव्यानम्\* ॥

36. The word antara being always a sarvanāma, when meaning "outer" or "a lower garment," is optionally so before the affix jas.

The word अन्तर when it means बहियोग, viz., 'outer' is always sarvanāma, so also, when it means उपसंव्यान or 'a lower garment.' Thus, अन्तरे गृहाः or अन्तरा गृहाः 'outer houses, the residence of Chandal, and other low castes.' So अन्तरे or अन्तराः शाटकाः 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.' The word अन्तर when used in the above sense is always sarvanāma, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a sarvanāma, e. g., ग्रामयोरन्तरे वसति 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is अन्तरे. With this sūtra ends the section on sarvanāmas, which began with sūtra 26.

*Vart*:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तरायां पुरि वसति 'he lives out of the city.'

*Vart*:—The words formed by the affix तीर्थ such as, द्वितीय and तृतीय, are optionally declined as sarvanāma before the case-affixes having an indicative ङ (ङित्), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, द्वितीयस्मै or द्वितीयाय, तृतीयाय or तृतीयस्मै.

स्वरादि निपातमव्ययम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वर-आदि, निपातम्,

अव्ययम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरादीनि शब्दरूपाणि निपाताश्चाव्ययसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

37. The words svar 'heaven,' &c., and the particles (I. 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

This defines avyaya or indeclinables. The words स्वर &c. must be found out from the Gaṇapāṭha; they are the following:—

स्वर 'heaven,' अन्तर 'midst,' प्रातर 'in the morning,' पुनर 'again,' सनुतर 'in concealment,' उचैस् 'high, aloft' नीचैस् 'low, down,' शनैस् 'slowly,' चरधक्

'rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' कृते 'except, without,' युगपत् 'at the same time, at once,' आरात् 'near, far from, directly.' पृथक् 'separately, apart,' ह्यस् 'yesterday,' एवस् 'to-morrow,' दिवा 'by day,' रात्रौ 'by night or in the night,' सायम् 'at eve,' चिरम् 'long, long since, a long time,' मनाक् 'a little,' ईषत् 'slightly, a little,' शश्वत् 'ever,' जोषम् 'gladly,' तुष्णीम् 'silently,' बहिस् 'outside,' अविस् 'below, without, outside. समया 'near,' निकषा 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयम् 'of one's self,' वृथा 'in vain,' नक्तम् 'at night, by night,' नम् 'negative particle, not,' हेनौ 'for this reason, by reason of,' इद्वा 'truly, really' हे इ 'exclamation,' अद्वा 'evidently, truly,' साभि 'half,' वत वत 'enclitic like, as Brâhmanavat, priestly,' सनत् सनात् 'perpetually,' उपधा 'division,' तिरस् 'crookedly, awry, over,' अन्तरा, अन्तरेण 'except, without' ज्योक्, योक् 'long,' कम् 'expletive particle,' शम् 'ease,' सना 'perpetually,' सहसा 'suddenly, hastily,' विना 'without,' नाना 'variously,' स्वस्ति 'greeting, peace,' स्वधा 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' अन्नम् 'enough,' वषट् 'exclamation,' श्रौषट्, वौषट् (interjection) 'oblation of butter,' अन्यत् 'again, moreover, otherwise.' अस्ति 'being present,' उपांशु 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' क्षमा 'patience, pardon,' विहायसा 'aloft in the air,' शोषा 'at night or in the evening,' मृषा, मिथ्या 'falsely,' मुषा 'in vain,' पुरा 'formerly,' मिथो or मियस् 'mutually, together,' प्रायस् 'frequently, almost,' मुहुस् 'again, repeatedly' उवाहकम् or उवाहिका 'at the same time,' आर्यहजम् 'violently' अभीक्ष्णम् 'repeatedly,' साकम् or सार्धम् 'with' नमस्, 'reverence,' हिक् 'without,' धिक् 'fie!' अय 'thus,' प्रताम् 'with fatigue,' प्रशान् 'alike,' प्रतान् 'widely,' ना, नाङ् 'do not.'

So, also the words formed by the affixes ktvâ tosun, kasun, by the kṛit affixes ending in म् or ए, ऐ, औ or औ, and the avyayibhâva compounds, are indeclinables. So, also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तसिञ् (V. 3. 7) and ending with पाशप् (V. 3. 47), by the affixes beginning with शस् (V. 4. 42) and ending with समासांतः (V. 4. 68), by the affixes कृत्वसुच्, सुच्, आच् and धात् by the affixes having the sense of the affix च्चि, or by the affixes अच् or आच्, तसि or वति, न or नाच् are also indeclinables.

The words called nipâta will be given under sôtras, I. 4, 56 to 61. Thus a word which changes not ( न व्येति), remaining alike in the three genders and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an अव्यय or indeclinables.

तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितः, च, असर्व-विभक्तिः  
( अव्ययम् )

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितान्तः शब्दोऽसर्वविभक्तिरव्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

38. And the words ending in taddhita or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76.) which are not declined in all the cases are also indeclinables.

This expands the definition of avyaya. There are three words in the sūtra taddhitaḥ, cha and asarva-vibhaktiḥ. Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मनु we have मानवः, sārva-vibhaktis are those words which take all case-terminations, asarva-vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb यतः is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations.

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Taddhita affixes are indeclinables. As ततः 'thence,' तत्र 'there.' Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तद् 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also यतः, यत्र, तत्र, यत्र, सर्वत्र, चत्र &c.

कृन्मेजन्तः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्, म-एज्-अन्तः (अव्ययम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृद्यो मकारान् एजन्तश्च तदन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञं भवति ॥

39. The words formed by those kṛit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93) which end with म् or in ए, ओ, ऐ and औ are also indeclinables.

All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds:—1. Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots: Primary affixes. 2. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns: Secondary affixes. The former are called kṛit, the latter, taddhita.

Words formed by kṛit affixes which end in म or ए, ओ, ऐ, or औ (connoted by the pratyahara एच्) are avyayas. Thus the affix तुम् (technically तुमुन्) and अम् (technically एमुच्, III. 3. 10) are affixes which end in म्. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus दातुम् 'to give,' and स्मराम् 'remembering' are avyayas. So also words like जीवसे 'to live,' पिवसे 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in ए, &c.

Thus, in the following examples, the words within quotation are avyayas 'स्वाङ्कारं,' 'संपन्नकारं,' 'जवणकारं,' भुङ्क्ते, 'he eats first having made it relishing' (III. 4. 26). 'वक्षे' रायः (वच् + खे III. 4. 9 = वक्षे); ता 'शामेवे,' रयनामुर्वाम् गव्युतिमेषां (इ + खे = एवे. Rig Veda V. 66. 3). अस्मे शतं शरसे 'जीवसे' धा अस्मे वीराञ्छ्रवत इन्द्र शिभिन् (Rig Veda III. 36. 10). आपः पृणीत भेषजं वरुणं तन्वे मम। ज्योक् च सूर्ये 'दृशे,' (Rig Veda I. 25. 21, दृश् + केन् III. 4. 11 दृशे).

The word अन्त is used in this sūtra for the same purpose, as it was employed in sūtra 24, showing that these terminations must be 'aupadeśika,' and not derivative. Therefore the following words are not avyayas:—आधे (d. s.), आधेः (g. s.) चिकीर्षदे। चिकीर्षोः। कुम्भकारेभ्यः। नगरकारेभ्यः।

ह्यातोसुन्कसुनः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्या, तोसुन्-कसुनः, (अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्या तोसुन् कसुन् इत्येवमन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञम् भवति ॥

40. The words ending with ktva, tosun (III. 4. 16) and kasun are indeclinables.

As कृत्वा 'having done' उद्रेतेः 'having risen,' विसृपः 'having spread.' Thus in the following examples the words within quotation are indeclinables:—पुरासूर्ये 'स्येदितो' राधेयः । पुरावत्साना 'मपाकर्त्तोः' । पुराफूरस्य 'विसृपो' विरप्सिन्नु राशाय प्रयवीं जीवदानुम् ॥ (Yajur Veda. I. 28) य ऋते विश्विभिषः पुरा जर्दभ्य 'आदकः' । (Rig Ved. VIIIa. 1. 12).

अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः-च ( अव्ययम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसमासोऽव्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

41. (The compound called) Avyayibhāva (II. 1. 5) is also indeclinable.

The Avyayibhava or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable, and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary terminations of the nominative or accusative neuter. Thus अधिहरि 'upon Hari,' अनुरूपं 'after the form *i., e.,* accordingly.'

The word च in the sūtra shows that here ends the definition of avyaya. The avyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sūtras.

What is the object gained by making the avyayibhāva compounds avyayas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables, *viz.*, we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (लृक्) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, *i.e.*, sūtra II. 4. 82 thus, in the following example, the words upāgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word śalavāh, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाग्नि प्रत्यग्नि शलाभाः पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an avyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (मुख स्वर), *i.e.*, sūtras VI. 2. 167 & 168. Thus, उपाग्नि मुखः, here, sūtra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avyaya, sūtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent: (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga : into स्, this change being technically called उपचारः thus उपपयःकारः, उपपयःकामः, as compared with अयस्कारः. Here, the compound उपपयः being treated as avyaya sūtra VIII. 3. 46, applies and prevents the change of : into स्.

The four sūtras 38,39,40, and 41 have all been enunciated under the svaradigaṇa. see sūtra 37. These sūtras properly, therefore, belong to the gaṇapāṭha; their repetition here in the Ashtādhyāyī indicates that these rules are अनित्य or not of universal application, *viz.*, all rules relating to avyayas in general, do not apply to them. Thus II. 3. 69. declaring that the genitive case is not used along with an avyaya is not a rule of universal application, for we see

indeclinables like वदेतोः governed by the genitive case as, सूर्यस्योदेतोः; or क्रूरस्व विद्युपः.

शि सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतत्सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञाम्भवति ॥

42. The affix शि (VII. I. 20) is called sarvanāmasthāna.

This defines the word sarvanāmasthāna. The affix शि is the nominative and accusative plural termination of neuter nouns. It replaces the ordinary nominative and accusative plural affixes जस् and शस् used in every other gender. The श् of शि is servile, and the actual termination is इ; the peculiarity of the affix शि is that it lengthens the penultimate vowel (VI. 4. 8) and adds a न् (VII. I. 72). Thus the plural of फल 'fruit' is फलानि 'fruits.' So also कुण्डानि तिष्ठन्ति, and कुण्डानि पश्य. Here, there is no difference of form in the nominative and the accusative cases. So also मधूनि, नपुण्णि, जलूनि. The word sarvanāmasthāna occurs in sūtra VI. 4. 8.

सुडनपुंसकस्य ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, अनपुंसकस्य, (सर्वनामस्थानम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सुडिति पञ्च वचनानि सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञानि भवन्ति नपुंसकादन्यत्र ॥

43. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyāhāra sut. (i. e., the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanāmasthāna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

This defines further the word sarvanāmasthāna. The case-terminations in Sanskrit are 21 as arranged below :—

		Singular	Dual	Plural.
Nominative	प्रथमा	सु (स्)	सौ	जस् (अस्)
Accusative	द्वितीया	अम्	सौद्	शस् (अस्)
Instrumental	तृतीया	ट (आ)	भ्याम्	भिस्
Dative	चतुर्थी	डे (ए)	"	भ्यस्
Ablative	पंचमी	डसि (अस्)	"	"
Genitive	षष्ठी	डस् (अस्)	सौस्	भ्याम्
Locative	सप्तमी	डि (इ)	"	सुप् (सु)

The above are the 21 vibhaktis, the ज् of जस्, the श् of शस्, the ट of सौद् &c. are indicative. All these vibhaktis are included in the pratyāhāra सुप् formed by taking the first vibhakti and the last letter of the last vibhakti. Similarly the first five terminations (सु, सौ, जस्, अम् and सौद्) are represented by सुट् and are called sarvanāmasthāna in the masculine and feminine genders. In the declension of nouns, it will be seen, that some nouns have two bases, one before these sarvanāmasthāna and the other before the rest.

Thus the word राजन् 'king' has the base राजान् before the सुद् vibhaktis, while in the remaining cases, the base is राज् and राज् as:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	राजा	राजानौ	राजानः
Accusative	राजानम्	राजानौ	राजः
Instrumental	राजा	राजभ्यां	राजभिः

But in the neuter nouns there is no such difference.

न वेति विभाषा ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, वा, इति, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेति प्रतिषेधो वेति विकल्पस्तयोः प्रतिषेधविकल्पयोर्दिभाषेति संज्ञा भवति ॥

44. "May or may not" is called vibhāshā or option.

This sūtra defines the word विभाषा. We had already had occasion to use this word in sūtras 28 and 32. Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhāshā. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhāshā:— prāpta-vibhāshā, aprāpta-vibhāshā and prāptāprāpta-vibhāshā. The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule; the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two.

Thus the root श्वि 'to swell,' by virtue of the rule विभाषा र्वे (V. 1. 30), forms its perfect tense, either by samprasāraṇa, or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either शुशाव or शिशवाव.

इग्यणः संप्रसारणम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इक्, यणः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इग्यो यणः स्थाने भूतो भावी वा तस्य संप्रसारणमित्येषा संज्ञा भवति ॥

45. The ik vowels which replace the semi-vowels *yaṅ* are called samprasāraṇa.

This defines the word samprasāraṇa. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyāhāra ik includes the four simple vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ॠ, and their corresponding semi-vowels ए, ओ, इ, and ऊ included in the pratyāhāra yaṅ. The word samprasāraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of स्वप् 'to sleep,' is formed by adding the nishṭhā affix क्त (see sūtra 26). So that we have स्वप् + क्त. But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasāraṇa of the व of स्वप् before the क्तिन् affixes, and we have the form सुप्तः 'slept.' Similarly from वद्-उदितः, यज्-इष्टम्, व्यध्-विद्धः, मद्-गृहीतम्-प्रह्-पुष्टम्. The term samprasāraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels into vowels as in VI. 1. 13; VI. 4. 131.

आद्यन्तौ ट्कितौ ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-अन्तौ, ट्-क्-इती ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिद्विद्वति अन्तः किद्ववति षष्ठी निर्दिष्टस्य ॥



46. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory इ or क्, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sūtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters इ and क्. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is इ that augment is to be placed before the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a कित् augment is to be added after the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sūtra (VII. 2. 35) which says "ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with a consonant except च, have इद्". The question may arise where is this इद् to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ārdhadhātuka affix? This sūtra answers the question. The indicatory इ shows, that it is to be placed before the ārdhadhātuka affix. Thus the future termination स्यति, is an ārdhadhātuka affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment इद्. Thus भू + इद् + स्यति = भविष्यति, 'he will be.' Similarly ज्विति 'he will cut'.

Similarly by sūtra VII. 3. 40. the root भी takes the augment वृक् in forming the causative. This having an indicatory क् is to be added after the word भी, as, भी + वृक् + णिच् + त = भीषयते 'he frightens.'

निदोऽन्त्यात्परः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निद्, अचः, अन्त्यात्, परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचां सन्नविष्टानामन्त्याश्चः परो विद्भवति ॥

47. The augment that has an indicatory न् comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final position of that which it augments.

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory न्. The augments having an indicatory न्, technically called वित् augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called नृन्, in which च and न् are इत्, and the actual augment is न्. When, therefore, it is said "let नृन् be added to the word," the letter न् is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of पयस् 'milk' is formed in the following way:—पयस् + नृन् + इ (VII. 1. 72) = पयान्वि (VI. 4. 8). Here न् is added between च and स् i. e. after the अ of च, which is the final vowel of the word: and before this न् the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly मुच् + श + ति (III. 1. 77) = मुच् + नृन् + श + ति (VI. 1. 59) = मुञ्चति । Similarly विरुणञ्चि ।

The word अचः is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhāraṇa or specification; it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class. The meaning is 'among the vowels.' This sūtra is an exception to sūtras I. 1. 49 and III. 1. 2, by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

There is, however, an exception, in the case of the root वृत्, in

which the augment नृन् is added not after the last vowel अ of न्, but between स् and ज्. The result of adding the augment नृन् between स् and ज् is, that sūtra VIII. 2. 29. applies, and the स् is elided. Thus मस्ज् + ता = मस्ज् + नृन् + ता (VII. 1. 60) = मस्नृज् + ता = मस्ज् + ता (VII. 2. 29) = मस्ज्ता "He will immerse". So also मग्नः 'immersed,' मग्नवान्, मस्कुम्.

एच इग्नस्वादेशे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचः, इक्, ह्रस्व-आदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचो ह्रस्वादेशे कर्तव्यइगेव ह्रस्वो भवति नान्यः ॥

48, Of एच् vowels, इक् is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

This sūtra points out the ह्रस्व substitutes of एच्. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and उ respectively. Thus, I. 2. 47 declares:—"the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude form provided it end in a vowel." Therefore in compounding अति + ऐ, the ऐ must be shortened. Properly speaking ऐ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have अतिरि 'extravagant' so नौ, अतिनु 'disembarked or landed,' गो, उपगु 'near a cow.' All avyayibhāva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say 'of एच्'? Because the short of other vowels will not be इक्. Thus the short of आ is अ. As, अति + खट्वा = अतिखट्वाः, अति + राज्ञा = अतिराजः ।

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted?' Because when वृत्त or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एच्, the इक् will not be the substitute. As देवदत्त O Devadatta ! देवदत्त !

षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, स्थाने-योगा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इह शाल्मे या षष्ठी अनियतयोगा भ्रूयते सा स्थानेयोगैव भवति नान्ययोगा स्थानेयोगनिमित्तभूते सति सा प्रतिपत्तव्या ॥

49. The force of the genitive case in a sūtra is that of the phrase "in the place of" when no special rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sūtras of Pāṇini. The genitive case or śāṣṭhī denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation, possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c. So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sūtra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used. This aphorism

lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of'

Thus in the sūtra 3, the word इक् is in the genitive case; the literal translation being:—"of ik there is guṇa and vṛiddhi." But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sūtra means 'in the place of इक्.' Similarly in the sūtra immediately preceding this, *vis.* 48, we have the word एच् in the genitive case and the sūtra means 'of एच्.' Here also "of" means "in the place of."

Thus in sutra हन्तेर्ज (VI. 4: 36) 'of hanti, there is ज' the word हन्ते, is the genitive of हन्ति; this genitive is used generally and its force is that of "in the place of." Therefore, ज displaces the verb हन् in लोट् or imperative mood, and we have जहि 'kill thou.'

This sūtra is also thus translated by Dr. Kielhorn:—Only that which is enunciated in a rule, *i. e.* that which is read in a rule or rather that which in the real language is like that which is read in a rule in a genitive case, or that which forms part of that which is enunciated in a genitive case, assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word स्थान 'place' *i. e.* is that in the place of which some thing else is substituted, but some thing suggested by the former does not assume that relation.

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence हर्षाणां स्थाने शरैः प्रस्तरितव्यम्, the word sthāne, means 'prasange' *i. e.* wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead. Similarly in sūtras अस्तेभूः (II. 4. 52), or भ्रुवो वचिः (II. 4. 53), the words 'asti,' and 'bhū' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs अस् or भ्रू use there the verbs भू or वच् instead respectively.' Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of अस्; so also, वक्ता, वक्तुम् and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of वृ.

The word स्थानेयोगा is a bahuvrīhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikarāṇa bahuvrīhi, see II. 2. 248 35), and it qualifies the word shashthī. The compound means स्थाने योगोऽस्या, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthāna.' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound; on the analogy of compounds like कण्ठेकालः &c.

स्थानेऽन्तरतमः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थाने-अन्तरतमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थाने प्राप्यमाणा नामन्तरतम आदेशो भवति सदृशवमः ॥

50. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

This sūtra also lays down another rule of paribhāsha. To explain this we must take an example. The guṇa of इ, उ, ऋ, and ॠ, is अ, ए, ओ. There is nothing to specify what letter is the guṇa of what. It might be said that ओ is the guṇa of इ because the definitions as laid down up to so far, do not say anywhere that ओ is not the guṇa of इ. So that when in a word like वि we are told 'let there be the guṇa of इ' we do not know what specific guṇa letter is to be substituted, whether it is अ, ए or ओ. To clear up this doubt, this sūtra declares that the likest of its significates is to be substituted. Now the nearest in place to इ is ए, both having their place of pronunciation, the palate. Similarly ओ is the guṇa of उ, because both are labials.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness:—(1) nearness in place or स्थान (*i. e.* palate, throat &c.); (2) nearness in meaning or अर्थ (such as, singular terminations to be used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or प्रमाण (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or गुण (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first *vis.*, the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

(1). Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, "when a homogeneous vowel follows ak, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sūtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus—इण्ड + अयं = इण्डायं; here the substitution of the long आ, for the two short अ's, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both अ and आ are gutturals.

(2). A good example of substitution by the sense of the word is afforded by VI. 1. 63:—"The words षट्, षत्, नष्ट् &c., are the substitutes when the case-affixes षस् (acc.-pl.) &c., follow." Here, we know the substitutes, but we do not know of what they are the substitutes. We apply the maxim of अर्थतः: "that only can become a substitute which has the power to express the *meaning* of the original, *i. e.*, a substitute takes the place of that the meaning of which it is able to express." Thus we find that षट् is the substitute of षट्, षत् of षन्त, नष्ट् of नासिका, &c., which convey the same *meaning* and contain almost the same letters. Another example of this is afforded by VI.3.34, by which feminine words in a compound are changed into masculine. Thus वातण्डी (fem) + युवति = वातण्डययुवति: .

(3). An example of prosodial substitution (प्रमाणतः) is afforded by rule VIII. 2. 80, "उ is the substitute of what comes after the इ of अदस् not ending in स् and in the room of इ there is उ." Thus अम + स्तै = अम् + अस्तै = अमुस्तै; अम + भ्याम् = अमा + भ्याम् (VII. 3. 102) = अम् + ऊभ्याम् = अमुभ्याम्. Here, short उ replaces the short अ, and the long ऊ replaces the long आ.

(4). An illustration of qualitative substitution is afforded by VII. 3. 52, "a letter of the guttural class is substituted for ऋ and ॠ when an affix having an indicatory ष् follows." Applying the rule of गुणतः we find that क् which is an alpaprâṇa and aghosha letter replaces ऋ having the same quality; while ॠ which is ghosha, and alpaprâṇa is replaced by the letter ङ् possessing similar quality. Thus पङ् + घञ् (III. 3. 18) = पाकः; स्यङ् + घञ् = स्यागः; रङ् + घञ् = रागः ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of the word sthâna was understood in this sūtra from the last, the repetition of this word indicates the existence of the following paribhâṣâ—

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, *i. e.*, there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of इ and उ out of the three guṇa letters अ, ए and ओ, we find that अ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, *i. e.*, अ and इ and उ have all one mâtṛâ; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ए and ओ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first; as, वेता, रतोता.

Why do we use the word "likest" in the superlative degree? Where there are many sort of proximities, the likest must be taken. Thus वाक् + हसति = वाग्भसति. Here, by VIII. 4. 62, "after a letter of ह्य् class, ह् is changed into a letter homogeneous with the preceding," ह् must be changed into a letter of the class क्. Out of the five letters of this class, ख् and ह् are both aspirates, but ख् is hard, and ह् is soft; so ग् and ह् are both soft, but ग् is unaspirate, and ह् is aspirate, therefore these must be rejected; the only letter which has the nearest approach to ह्, is घ्, which is both soft and aspirate. Similarly in निष्कृन्मसति, the ह् has been changed into ङ्.

उरण् रपरः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, अण्, र-परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उः (ऋकारस्य) स्थानेऽण् प्रसज्यमान एव रपरो वेदितव्यः ॥

51. When a letter of अण् pratyâhâra comes as a substitute for ऋ it is always followed by a र.

This sūtra consists of three words *vis.*, उः which is the genitive singular of ऋ and means literally 'of ऋ' or 'in the place of ऋ'; the second word is अण्, a pratyâhâra denoting अ, इ and उ long and short; the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means 'having a र after.'

This sūtra is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of ऋ. Thus, there

are only three guṇa vowels अ, ए and ओ. Of these what is the proper guṇa for ऋ? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the guṇa of ऋ; and further by this rule, this अ must have a र् after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the guṇa of ऋ, the actual substitute is अर्. Thus कृ + ता = कर्ता; similarly हर्ता.

So also when ऋ is replaced by इ as by sūtra VII. 1. 100, this substitute इ must be followed by a र्. As कृ + अति = क्रि + र् + अति = किरति 'he scatters'; similarly गिरति 'he swallows.'

So also when ऋ is replaced by उ, as by sūtra IV. 1. 115 this उ must be followed by a र्. As द्वि + माद + अण् = द्दमातुरः 'son of two mothers'

This र् is to be added only when ऋ is replaced by अ, इ or उ (अण्) vowels, and not when it is replaced by any other letter.

Thus by IV. 1. 97, "the ऋ of the word सुधाद is replaced by अक् (technically अकङ्) when the affix इञ् is added." Thus, सुधाद + इञ् = सुधात् + अक् + इ = सौधानकिः, 'a descendant of Sudhâtri' Here the substitute of ऋ, that is to say, the syllable अक् is not followed by र्.

The र् in the text has been taken by some to be a pratyâhâra formed by the letter र् and अ of लण्; and thus it includes the letters र् and ल्. In that case the sūtra would mean that अण् substitutes of ऋ and लृ are always followed by र् and ल् respectively. Thus guṇa of णि = ar, of णि = al.

अलोन्त्यस्य ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यस्य, (आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य य उच्यते आदेशः सोऽन्त्यस्यालः स्थाने वेदितव्यः ॥

52. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sūtra VII. 2. 102, it is declared त्यक्त्वर्त्तनामः "in the place of त्यङ् &c., there is अ." It does not mean that the whole word त्यङ्, is replaced by अ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so; but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sūtra, that the last letter of त्यङ्, namely ङ् is to be replaced by अ.

So also in sūtra I. 2. 50 इङ्गोण्याः the short इ replaces only the final letter of गोणी and not the whole word, as पञ्चगोणिः 'purchased for five gonis.' एरागोणिः

डिच्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ड्-इत्, च, (आदेशः, अलः, अन्त्यस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डिच्च य आदेशः सोऽनिकालपि अलोन्त्यस्य भवति ॥

53. And the substitute which has an indicatory इ (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sūtra is an exception by anticipation to sūtra 55. By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of माद and पित् there is a rule (VI. 3. 25) by which it is declared:—'In the place of words ending in ऋ there is the substitution of आनङ् in forming dvandvas.' Now the substitute आनङ् is a डिन् substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, *vis*, the ऋ of माद is only changed into आ and not the whole word; and we have the compound मातापितरौ, so also होतापोतारौ.

There is an exception, however, in the case of the substitute तावङ् (VII. 1. 35) which, though it has an indicatory इ, yet replaces the whole expressions तु and हि and not only their finals. As जीवतात् 'may he live, or may you live'; instead of जीवतु 'may he live,' or जीव 'live thou.'

आदेः परस्य ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेः, परस्य, ( अलः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य कार्ये शिष्यमाणमादेरलः प्रत्येतच्चम् ॥

54. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

When any operation is to be made in a word *following another*, such operation is to be made in the *initial* letter of such subsequent word. To give an illustration:—there is a rule (VI. 3. 97) by which it is declared: "In the place of अप् used after the words हि and अन्तर् and the particles called उपसर्ग there is ई." This rule may be stated in other words as:—'In the place of अप् there is ई when अप् follows हि or अन्तर्.' Now it is clear that ई is not to replace all the letters of अप् but only one. By sūtra 52 that letter would have been the last letter of अप्, but this sūtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, simply by reason of its being placed *after* another word; such change is to be made in the *beginning* of such second word. Therefore, the ई replaces the अ of अप् and we have हि + अप् = हीप (the final अ is added by V. 4. 74) 'an island,' अन्तरीप 'promontory.' So also in the sūtra ईसात्: (VII. 2. 83) 'long ई is the substitute of अन् when the latter comes after the root आस्.' Thus आस् + अन् = आस् + ईन् = आसीन्. Here also the ई replaces the initial अ of अन्.

How can we find when an operation is to be performed on a subsequent word? When the previous word is exhibited in the 5th or ablative case, see sūtra 67.

अनेकाल् शित्सर्वस्य ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेक-अल्, शित्, सर्वस्य,  
( आदेशः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकाल् य आदेशः शिष्य सर्वस्य षष्ठी निर्दिष्टस्य स्थाने भवति ॥

55. A substitute consisting of more than one letter, and a substitute having an indicatory श take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.

This sūtra is an exception to sūtra 52 by which it was declared that an âdeśa or substitute replaces only the last letter. This sūtra on the contrary enjoins that an âdeśa consisting of more than one letter replaces the whole expression in the genitive case, and not only its last letter. Even where an âdeśa consists of a single letter, but if it has a श् as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

Thus, there is a sūtra श्रुवो वचिः (II. 4. 53) which means 'in the place of वृ let there be वच्.' Here the âdeśa वच् consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word वृ and not only the last letter रू. That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb वृ is replaced by वच्. Thus the future tense of वृ is वक्ता 'he will speak.'

So also there is a sūtra (V. 3. 3.) by which it is declared:—"In the place of इवम् there is इव्." Here the âdeśa इ is an âdeśa having the व् for its indicatory letter, and though it consists of only one letter, it replaces the whole word इवम्, and not only its last letter म्.

Of course, it must be understood that the phrase 'consisting of more than one letter' applies to the *actual* substitute, and not to the substitute with its indicatory letters, the latter being for the purposes of counting regarded as mere surplusages and not to be taken into account. To see whether an affix is अनेकाल् or not, the indicatory letters must not be counted; and the affix must be stripped of all its इत् letters.

स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ ॥५६॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानि-वत्, आदेशः,  
अनल्विधौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानिवदादेशो भवति स्थान्याभयेषु कार्येऽनल्विधौ स्थान्यनाभयाणि कार्याणि वर्जयित्वा ॥

56. A substitute (âdeśa) is like the former occupant (sthāni) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the operation of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

This is an explanatory sūtra, or this may be considered also as an atideśa sūtra, in as much as it declares that the operations to be performed



on or by the original, may be similarly performed on or by the substitute, but with certain restrictions. The words of this sūtra require some detailed exposition. Sthāni is the word or the portion of a word which is replaced. Ađeśa is the expression which replaces something. Al-vidhi is a compound of 'al' meaning alphabet, or letters in general, and 'vidhi' rule i. e. any rule applicable to letters.

There is an exception, however, to this rule in the case of rules, the occasion for the operation of which, is furnished by the letters of the original term. That is to say for the purposes of orthographic rules, an âđeśa is not like the sthāni. A rule which is applicable to the *letters* of the sthāni, need not be applicable to the letters of the âđeśa.

Thus the gerund of verbs is generally formed by adding the affix स्त्वा e. g. पठ् + स्त्वा. Now VII. 2. 35. prescribes the insertion of an intermediate इद् before ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with any consonant except च्. This rule is clearly an al-vidhi, because the occasion for its application is conditional on the letters of the affix. The affix स्त्वा begins with स् and is an ârdhadhâtuka affix and fulfils all the conditions of the rule. Therefore, we have गृह् + इ + स्त्वा = गृहीस्त्वा (VI. 1. 16; VII. 2. 37).

Now in compound verbs the affix स्त्वा is replaced by च् (tech. ल्यप्). Thus संगृह् + च्. This âđeśa च् which takes the place of स्त्वा has all the functions of स्त्वा viz. it has the power of making gerunds; it makes the word an indeclinable (see rule 41 *ante*), as the affix स्त्वा does. But the affix स्त्वा takes an intermediate इ; should, therefore, the âđeśa च् take also the इ or not? Now the augment इ which स्त्वा takes is by virtue of VII. 2. 35, because it begins with a consonant of वञ् pratyâhâra; while च् is the only consonant which is not included in this pratyâhâra. Therefore, for the purposes of taking इ by rule VII. 2. 35. the âđeśa च् is not like स्त्वा; since that rule is one which has its scope when there are certain initial letters; or an al-vidhi. Therefore, we have संगृह्.

Substitutes replace either a धातु 'root,' or an अङ्ग 'base,' or a kṛit affix 'primary affix,' or a taddhita affix 'secondary affix,' or an avyaya 'indeclinable,' or a सुप् affix 'case affix,' or a तिङ् affix 'conjugational affix,' or lastly the full word or pada.

The substitute of a dhātu becomes like a dhātu. Thus sūtras II. 4. 52 and 53 declare :—'भू is the substitute of the root अस्, and वच् of the root झू when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows.' Here the substitutes भू and वच् are treated as dhātu, and as such get the affixes लब्ध &c. by III. 1. 96, &c. Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्; वक्ता, वक्तुम्, वक्तव्यम्.

The substitute of an anga becomes like an anga. Thus VII. 2. 103 declares:—'क is the substitute of the base किन् when a case-affix follows.'

Here, क gets the designation 'base' and so rules applicable to base, are applied to क also. Thus in केन, काभ्याम्, कैः &c., we have इन, the lengthening of the vowel, and ऐस् substituted by VII. 1. 12, and VII. 3. 102, and VII. 1. 9.

The substitute of a kṛit affix becomes like a kṛit affix. Thus VII. 1. 37 declares:— 'ल्यप्' is the substitute of the kṛit affix ल्वा when the verb is a compound, the first member of which is an indeclinable, but not नञ्' Here, ल्यप् is also called a kṛit affix, and as such, sūtra VI. 1. 71 applies, and तुक् is added. As प्रकृ + ल्यप् = प्रकृ + ल् + य = प्रकृत्य; similarly प्रहृत्य &c.

The substitute of a taddhita affix is like a taddhita. Thus VII. 3. 50 declares:— 'इक्' is the substitute of the affix उ' as इधि + ठक् (IV. 2. 18) = साधिकम्, here, इक् being treated as a taddhita, sūtra I. 2. 56 applies and the word formed by it, gets the name of prâtipadika, and is so declined.

The substitute of an avyaya is like an avyaya. As, प्रस्तुत्य; प्रहृत्य. The affix ल्वा makes avyayas (I. 1. 40), its substitute ल्यप् will also make the word an avyaya, and as such sūtra II. 4. 82 applies, and the case-affixes are elided after these words.

The substitute of sup-affixes becomes like sup. Thus VII. 1. 13 declares:— 'य' is the substitute of the sup-affix ङे after an inflective base ending in short अ.' Here, य is treated as a sup-affix, and therefore sūtra VII. 3. 102 applies, and there is lengthening of the vowel, as, वृत्ताय; वृत्ताव.

The substitute of ति becomes like ति. Thus III. 4. 101 declares:— 'ताम्, तम्, व and अम् are substituted for तस्, यस्, य, and निप् when tense-affixes having indicatory ह् follow.' Here the substitutes ताम् &c., also make the words ending in them pada by rule I. 4. 14 as, अकुरुतम्, अकुरुत &c.

The substitute of a pada is like a pada. Thus VIII. 1. 21 declares:— 'वस् is the substitute of युष्मान्, युष्मन्, युष्माकम्, and नस् of अस्मान्, अस्मन्, अस्माकम्.' Here, वस् and नस् are treated as pada, and the final स् is changed into visarga, as वः, नः.

Why have we used the word वस् in the sūtra? Without it the aphorism would have been स्थान्यादेशोऽनलिवधौ, and this being a chapter treating of definitions, the meaning would have been, 'an ādeśa is called sthāni.' This certainly is not intended, for had it been so, then all operations would be performed by or on the substitute, but none by the original. But this is not so. Thus rule I. 3. 28, says 'the root इन् preceded by आ is ātmanepadī.' वध the substitute of इन् will be ātmanepadī, as आवाधित्; but इन् also will be so in its proper sphere, as, आहत.

The word ādeśa is used in the sūtra to indicate, that the rule applies even to partial substitutions: as changing the इ of ति into उ (III. 4. 86) in the Imperative e. g. पचतु.

The word al-vidhi is used in order to indicate that the substitutes of निप्,

पयिन्, स्वर् &c., such as the change of **इ** into **ओ** (VII. 1. 84), **इ** into **आ** (VII. 1. 85), **इ** into **अ** (VII. 2. 102), are not to be treated like the original : as **ओ**; **पन्थाः**, **सः**. Had these substitutes been treated like the original, rule VI. 1. 68 would apply, and the case-affix **सु** would have been elided.

अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, परस्मिन्, पूर्व-  
विधौ, ( स्यानिवत् आदेशः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादेशः परनिमित्तकः पूर्वविधौ कर्त्तव्ये स्यानिवत्त्ववि ॥

57. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This sūtra consists of three words:—**अचः** genitive of the pratyāhāra **अच्** meaning 'of a vowel,' and means an ādeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words ādeśa and sthānivat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding sūtra. The second word is 'parasmin' loc. sing. of 'para' meaning 'in the subsequent.' The locative has the force of 'on account of or by reason of.' The third word is pūrva-vidhau loc. sing. of pūrva-vidhi meaning 'a rule applicable to a preceding thing.' The whole sūtra thus comes to mean that an ādeśa which replaces a vowel, becomes sthānivat (like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to anything preceding such an ādeśa.

Thus there is an affix called **सिच्** the actual affix being **इ**; the other letters **च्** and **स्** being **इत्**. The peculiarity of every affix having an indicatory **च्** is to cause the vṛiddhi of the penultimate **अ**; (sūtra VII. 2. 116) as **पच + इ = पाचि**. Now in forming the denominative verb from the word **पद्**, we have to add the affix **सिच्**. Thus **पद् + इ**; but before **चि**, the **उ** of **पद्** is substituted by a 'lopa' or blank, and this blank takes the place of the vowel **उ** of **पद्** and becomes sthānivat by force of the present sūtra. The result of becoming sthānivat is that though the **अ** of **पद्** is really a penultimate and ought to be vṛiddhied before 'चि' it is not so, the lopa-substitute not allowing the **अ** to be regarded as penultimate, and thus we have the form **पदि** the present tense third person singular of which is **पद्यति**. The equation being **पद् + ० + इ**, the zero preventing the **अ** of **पद्** from becoming penultimate. So also in the word **अवधीन्**, the aorist (**लुङ्**) of **वध**. Thus **अ + वध + ईन् = भ + वध् + ० + ईत्**. Here, the **अ** of **वध** is elided by VI. 4. 48. (when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows there is elision of the short **अ** of that which ends in short **अ**;) this elision is thus caused by something which follows (parasmin.) Now there is a rule (VII. 2. 7.) which declares 'vṛiddhi is optionally the substitute of a laghu **अ** preceded by a consonant when **सिच्** (aorist) follows.' However in the present case the zero is consi-

dered as *sthānivat*, and prevents the application of *sūtra* VII. 2. 7; otherwise we get the form *अवाधीन्* which is inadmissible.

Similarly बहुखट्वा + कप् = बहुखट्कः। Here, the short अ is the substitute of the long आ of खट्वा by VII. 4. 15; because of the subsequent (*parasmin*) affix 'kap'. However, the word बहुखट्क will not be considered as a word ending in a short vowel, for the purposes of the application of rule VI. 2. 174, (the *udāta* accent falls on the last vowel but one of a word that ends in a short vowel and is the last member of a *bahūvrīhi* compound followed by the affix *kap*). On the contrary the short अ is regarded as *sthānivat* to long आ. Thus बहुखट्कः .

It is needless to say that this rule applies only to vowel *ādeśa*, therefore, where an *ādeśa* replaces a consonant, the previous *sūtra* 56 has its scope and prevents its being *sthānivat*. Thus there is a *krīta* affix called ल्यप्, the real suffix being य, the ल् and प् being diacritical letters. Before this य the verb आगम् (to come) loses its म्, and *lopa* or blank takes the place of न्. Here then *lopa* or blank is an *ādeśa* and म् a consonant is *sthāni*.

Now there is a rule which says (VI. 1. 71), that before *krīta* affixes having an indicative प्, the letter त्त is added after verbs ending in light vowels. Now in आगम्, when म् is omitted, the अ of ग becomes final; and therefore a न् is required before य (which is a *viñ* affix). Thus we have आगत्य.

But had *lopa* or blank become *sthānivat* to म् then the अ of ग would have remained penultimate as it was when it was आगम्; and no न् would have been required. But it is not so.

Similarly in forming the word प्रमः. Thus प्रमल् + नद् (III. 3. 90) प्रम् + नद् (VI. 4. 19). Here, न् is substituted for ल्; this will not be *sthānivat* to ल्; though this substitute is caused by something that follows (*parasmin*). Were it to be *sthānivat*, there would come the augment कुक् (क्) by VI. 1. 73.

Similarly अक्काष्टान्, the aorist of कृष्. Thus अ + कृष् + सिष् + ताम् = अ + कृष् + • + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26). Here the स् is elided on account of what follows, but still the *lopa* substitute here is not *sthānivat* for the purposes of VIII. 2. 41. Had it been *sthānivat*, ष् of कृष् would be changed into क्.

Moreover this rule applies where a vowel is changed on account of something which follows (*parasmin*). Therefore, where the change has not been occasioned by anything subsequent, the *ādeśa* (though of a vowel) is not *sthānivat*. Thus the words युवजानिः and बधुटीजानिः .

The word युवजानि is a *bahūvrīhi* compound of युवति and जाया, meaning 'he who has a young wife.' In forming this compound, the आ of या is replaced by नि (tech. निद्) by *sūtra* V. 4. 134. This नि will not be *sthānivat* to आ, as it is not caused by anything which follows. Had it been regarded as *sthānivat*, the य् could not be elided by VI. 1. 66 ('there is elision of य

and य when any consonant except ह् or र् follows'). Thus, युवजावा + नि = युवजाव् + ० + नि (V. 4. 134) = युवजानिः (VI. 1. 66).

Similarly the word वैयाघ्रपद्यः, 'a descendant of व्याघ्रपाद्' also illustrates this rule. व्याघ्रपाद् is a bahuvrīhi compound of व्याघ्र and पाद्, meaning 'whose foot is like that of a tiger.' Now the final ष् of 'pāda' is elided in such compounds by V. 4. 138. This lopa substitution is not caused by anything that follows, therefore, this lopaदेसा will not be sthānivat for the purposes of the application of sūtra VI. 4. 130 ('पद् is the substitute of the word पाद् when part of an inflective base ending in the word पाद् and entitled to the name of Bha. I. 4. 18'). Therefore, व्याघ्रपाद् + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = वैयाघ्रपद्यः. Had the lopa been like the original, there could not have been the substitution of 'pad' for 'pād.'

Similarly the word आदीप्ये, 1st per. sing. atm. present tense of the root दीपि 'to shine.' Thus आदीपि + इद् = आदीपि + ए (III. 4. 79). This change of इ into ए is not caused by anything that follows, hence ए is not sthānivat to इ, for the purposes of the application of rule VII. 4. 53 ('the finals of didhi and vevī are elided when an affix beginning with य or इ follows'). Had ए been sthānivat, the final इ would have been elided.

Similarly an âdeśa though of a vowel, and even though occasioned by a subsequent something, would not be sthānivat, if there is not the application of a rule to something that precedes the âdeśa (pūrva-vidhi). If the rule is to be applied to something subsequent to the âdeśa; it will be applied to the exact âdeśa without considering what was the letter which the âdeśa had replaced. It is only when a rule is to be applied to a prior object, that it becomes important to consider whether the âdeśa is sthānivat or not. Thus the vocative case of गौ is हे गौः। The vocative is formed from the nominative case (II. 3. 49). The nominative of गौ is formed by changing औ into औ and adding the case termination स्. Here the âdeśa औ, replaces औ, on account of the subsequent termination स्. Now there is a rule applicable to vocative cases which declares that the final स् is dropped after short vowels and ए and औ (VI. 1. 69).

Now is the औ of गौ to be regarded as sthānivat to औ, which it replaces; for the purposes of this rule of elision of finals? If so, the consequence would be that the final स् would have to be dropped in the vocative. But it is not so. Because the rule VI. 1. 69, which ordains the dropping of स् after short vowels and ए and औ applies to a letter, which is not anterior to the âdeśa औ, but to one which follows it, and consequently there being no pūrva-vidhi here, the final स् is retained and we have the vocative गौः।

Similarly the word बाभ्रवीयाः, 'the pupils of Bābhavya.' The word बाभ्रव्यं is derived from बभ्रु in this wise. बभ्रु + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = बाभ्रो

+ यम् (VI. 4. 146 and VII. 2. 117) = वाभ्र् + यम् (VI. 1. 79) = वाभ्रव्यः. From this is formed वाभ्रवीय in this wise:—वाभ्रव्य + छ (IV. 2. 114) = वाभ्रव्य + ईव (VII. 1. 2) = वाभ्रव्य् + ईव (VI. 4. 148) = वाभ्र् + ईव (VI. 4. 150). Here, had the substitute अर् which replaced the ओ of वाभ्रो, been sthânavat to ओ, rule VI. 4. 150 ('there is elision of the य of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant, when long ई follows'), could not have applied. But this substitute अर् is not sthânavat for the purposes of rule VI. 4. 150, inasmuch as that rule does not apply to any letter that *precedes* the substitute अर्, but to the very letters of the substitute itself.

Similarly the word नैधेयः, which is evolved from the root धा, in this wise नि + धा + कि (III. 3. 92) = नि + धा + इ (I. 3. 8) = नि + ध्र् + • + इ (VI. 4. 64) = निधि. Let us then form a secondary derivative from the word निधि applying ढक् (IV. 1. 122), the whole of which affix is replaced by एव (VII. 1. 2). Thus निधि + एव = निध्र् + एव (VI. 4. 148) = नैधेय (VII. 2. 118). Here, the lopa substituted for the अर् of धा by VI. 4. 64 is not sthânavat for the purposes of the application of IV. 1. 122 by which the affix ढक् is added. Rule V. 1. 122 says, 'ḍhak is added to a word ending in इ, provided it be a word containing *two* vowels.' Now निधि ends in इ and contains two vowels; but if the lopa were sthânavat to the elided अर्, then it would be a word of *three* syllables. That is however not so; because the rule enjoining the affix ढक् is not applicable to anything *preceding* the lopâdeśa, but is enjoined with regard to something after this substitution.

न पदान्तद्विर्वचनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णानुस्वारदीर्घजश्चविधिषु ॥५८॥  
पदानि ॥ न, पदान्त- द्विर्वचन- वरे- यलोप- स्वर- सवर्ण- अनुस्वार- दीर्घ- जश्- चर्-  
विधिषु, ( स्थानिवत् )

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वोणात्प्रसक्तः स्थानिवद्भाव एतेषु विधिषु प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

58. Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvâra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of ja<sub>s</sub> and char letters.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the previous sūtra, by which it was ruled that an âdeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthânavat under certain conditions. This sūtra says that a vowel âdeśa is not sthânavat under the following circumstances.

1. पदान्तविधिः—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.' Thus the अर् of अस् is elided before the terminations of dual and plural numbers (VI. 4. 111). Thus we have अस्ति 'he is,' स्तः 'they two are,' सन्ति 'they are.' Now in the technical phraseology of Sanskrit grammarians, the अर् of स्तः and सन्ति is

replaced by an âdeśa called लोप, the peculiarity of which is that the whole of it vanishes. So that before the word स्तः there is this âdeśa existing, though it is in an invisible form. This invisible âdeśa will be sthānivat, as it replaces a vowel, by reason of something that follows, i. e. the affixes तः and सन्ति being क्तिन् (I. 2, 4); and it will have all the powers of स्य by the last sūtra, in the absence of any rule to the contrary. Therefore, in the sentence कौ स्तः 'who two are' the final औ of कौ and the invisible स्य of स्तः ought to coalesce by rules of sandhi into आव (VI. 1. 78). But this incongruity is prevented by the present sūtra, by which the change of औ into आव् is a पदान्त विधि or a rule relating to the finals of a word, therefore, we have कौ स्तः । So also in तानि सन्ति, rule VI. 1. 77 is not applied.

2. द्विर्वचनविधिः 'a rule relating to the doubling of letters.' In the sandhi of इधि + अन्न we have इधन्न. Here इ is changed into ङ्. If this ङ् were sthānivat to इ, then the rule by which इ could be doubled before ङ् would be inapplicable. But ङ् is not equivalent to इ, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of इ and get the form इङ्घन्न. Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the âdeśa is not equivalent to the sthān.

3. वरेविधिः 'a rule relating to the affix वरच्.' The affix वरच् is a kṛit affix which is added to certain roots to form nouns of agency; thus from ईच् 'to rule' we have ईप्वरः 'ruler.' So from the intensive verb यायाय we have यायावरः 'a vagrant.' It is formed in this wise यायाय + वर (III. 2. 176) = यायाय् + • + वर (VI. 4. 48). Here the स्य of य has been dropped and replaced by lopa, on account of its being followed by the ârdhadhâtuka affix वरच्. The next step is to drop the य् by rule VI. 1. 66 which declares that the letters य् and य् are dropped before affixes beginning with any consonant except य् i. e., beginning with consonants of वल् प्रत्यहारा. Thus याया + • + वर. Now there is a rule (VI. 4. 64) which declares that the final long आ of a base is dropped before ârdhadhâtuka affixes having an initial vowel. Here therefore, if the âdeśa 'lopa,' which replaced the vowel स्य, be considered as sthānivat, and वर be considered as an affix having a latent initial vowel, then the आ of याया requires to be dropped. But this sūtra prevents this and we have the form यायावरः; as, अप्सु यायावरः प्रवपेत पिण्डान् ॥

4. यलोपविधिः 'a rule relating to the dropping of ya.' Thus there is a verb कण्डूय 'to scratch'. In forming an abstract noun from it, the affix ति (tech. क्तिच्) is added. Thus कण्डूय + ति = कण्डूय् + • + ति, the स्य of य being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now there is a rule (VI. 1. 66) already mentioned above which requires the elision of य् before consonantal affixes. Now if the lopa-substitute be considered as sthānivat to स्य, then the affix ति is not an affix having an initial consonant and the rule, which requires the dropping of य्, would not apply. The present sūtra, however, provides for this, and we have the form कण्डूतिः 'scratching.'

5. **स्वरविधि:** 'a rule relating to accent.' There is a sūtra (VI. 1. 193) which says that when a word is formed by an affix that has an indicatory ल्, the vowel that immediately precedes such an affix has the udātta accent. Now ष्वल् is an affix that has an indicatory ल्, the real affix being अक (VII. 1. 1.). It is an affix used in forming nouns of agency. Adding this affix to the desiderative verb चिकीर्षे 'desirous of doing' we have:—चिकीर्षे + अक = चिकीर्षे + ० + अक, the अ being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now if the zero be considered as sthānivat, then the accent must fall on this latent अ but it is not so. The accent falls on the ई of की; and we have चिकीर्षकः, so also मिहर्षिकः ॥

6. **सवर्णविधि:** 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.' To explain this, let us form the second person singular of the verb शिष् in the imperative mood. The affix हि is the sign of the second person imperative singular; and the verb शिष् belongs to the seventh-class of verbs called Rudhādi. This class of verbs take the vikaraṇa म् (III. 1. 78) the ष् and न् being indicatory the real affix is न्. This न् is inserted between the radical vowel and the final consonant (I. 1. 47). Therefore we have the following equation:—शिष् + इनम् + हि = शि + न् + ष् + हि = शि + न् + ० + ष् + हि. The अ of न् is dropped by VI. 4. 111, which declares that the अ of इनम् is dropped before those sārvaadhātuka terminations which are कित् or डित्. By I. 2. 4 all sārvaadhātuka terminations which have not got an indicatory ष् are considered as डित्. The affix हि therefore is a डित् sārvaadhātuka affix, and by rule III. 4. 87, हि is to be regarded as अपित्, not having an indicatory ष्. The next stage is:—शि + न् + ० + ष् + धि; the हि being changed into धि by rule (VI. 4. 101) which says that 'हि is changed into धि, when it follows a root which ends in a consonant of झल् pratyāhāra:' here ष् and ध् are changed by general rules of sandhi into झ् and ढ् and we have शि + न् + ० + झ् + ढि (VIII. 4. 41). Then there is a rule (VIII. 3. 24), which says that in the body of a word the न् is changed into anusvāra when followed by a consonant of झल् pratyāhāra.' Therefore we have:—शि + ० + ० + झ् + ढि. This is the form to which the present rule is applicable. Thus, there is a rule (VIII. 4. 58) which says that an anusvāra followed by a letter of यद् pratyāhāra i.e., any consonant except ह्, ष्, ष् and स् is changed into a letter homogeneous or savarna to the letter that follows. Therefore, if we regard zero as sthānivat to the अ which it replaces, the anusvāra cannot be changed into न् as homogeneous to ह्. But it is not to be so regarded, and we have the form शि + न् + ष् + ढि = शिण्डु or शिण्डि; so also विण्डि.

7. **अनुस्वारविधि:** 'a rule relating to anusvāra.' The above example will serve the purpose here:—शि + न् + ० + झ् + ढि. This by the rule already mentioned (VIII. 3. 24), requires the न् to be changed into anusvāra,



Now if zero be considered as sthānivat, then न् is not followed by a letter of ह्रस्व pratyāhāra, and cannot be changed into anusvāra. However, the zero is not regarded as sthānivat, and we change the न् into anusvāra. Other examples are चि + न् + ० + ष् + अन्ति = शिषन्ति; so also पिषन्ति ॥

8. दीर्घविधि: 'a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.' Let us form the Inst. sing. of the noun प्रतिदिवन्. The termination of the Inst. sing. is ट् or ष्ट्. Therefore, we have प्रतिदिवन् + ष्ट् = प्रतिदिव् + ० + न् + ष्ट्. Here the ष् has been elided by rule VI. 4. 134, which teaches that words ending in अन् lose their ष् before terminations technically called Bha. The termination of Inst. sing. is a Bha termination by force of rule I. 4. 18. The next rule that now comes into operation, is VIII. 2. 77, which requires the lengthening of the short penultimate vowels, of the इक् pratyāhāra, of words that end in ट् or ष्ट् and are followed by a consonant. Here दिव् is a root that ends in व्; and if the zero be considered as sthānivat, then this व् is not followed by a consonant, but by a latent vowel, and so the short इ of दिव् will not be lengthened. This rule, however, provides for such lengthening, and therefore we have:—प्रतिदिव् + ० + न् + ष्ट् = प्रतिदीष्ट् ॥

9. जश्विधि: 'a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyāhāra जश्, in the place of hard consonants' In this case also the ādeśa that takes the place of a vowel is not sthānivat.

Let us add the affix क्तिन् to the root अद् 'to eat,' compounded with the word स or समान. In Vedic literature अद् is replaced by घस्, (II. 4. 39); so we have, स + घस् + क्तिन् = स + घस् + ति = स + घ् + ० + स् + ति (VI. 4. 100) = स + घ् + ० + ० + ति (VIII. 2. 26) = स + घ् + ० + ० + धि (VIII. 2. 40).

It is at this stage, that rule VIII. 4. 53 requires the घ् to be changed into ग्. This is a जश् rule, and teaches that in the place of letters of ह्रस्व class, the letters of जश् class are substituted, if followed by letters of ह्रस्व class. If the zero which was obtained by dropping the ष् of घ, be considered as sthānivat, then the घ् is not followed by a consonant of ह्रस्व class, and cannot be changed into ग्. But it is not so. Therefore सघ् + ० + ० + धि = सग्धि: (Yaj. Ved. XVIII. 9). The various rules, by which first ष् is omitted, and then स् is dropped, have been referred to in brackets, and will be explained in their proper places.

Similarly the word बन्धाम्, which is the Imperative (lot) 2nd per. dual of the root भस्, and is thus evolved. This root belongs to the Juhutyādi class, and therefore, there is reduplication. Thus भन् + ताम् = भन् + भन् + ताम् = भ + भस् + ताम् = ब + भस् + ताम् = ब + भ् + ० + स् + ताम् (VI. 4. 100) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + धाम् (VIII. 2. 40) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + धाम् = बन्धाम् ॥ Here the change of भ् into ब् is by the application of VIII. 4. 53, which is a jaś rule, and therefore, the zero is not sthānivat.

10. चरविधिः 'a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चर् pratyâhâra instead of other consonants.' In the application of this rule, also the substitute that replaces a vowel is not sthânavat.

Let us form the 2nd pers. sing. perfect of the verb चर् 'to eat.' चर् is replaced by घस् (II. 4. 40) and अतुस् is the termination of the second person singular of लि् or perfect tense. घस् + अतुस् = घस् + घस् + अतुस् (VI. 1. 8) = घ + घस् + अतुस् (VII. 4. 60) = ज + घस् + अतुस् (VIII. 4. 54) = ज + घ् + • + स् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98) = जघ् + • + सतुस्.

At this stage comes the चर् rule in operation, which says that the letters of झन् pratyâhâra are replaced by those of चर् pratyâhâra, when followed by letters of खर् pratyâhâra. Here घ् is a letter of झन् class, and if zero is not sthânavat, it is followed by स् which is a letter of खर् class, and therefore घ् is required to be changed into ङ् of चर् class. By the present rule, zero is not sthânavat and thus we have :—जङ् + सतुस् = जङ्गुः (VIII. 3. 60).

Similarly अङ्गन् the 3rd per. plural aorist of घस् is thus formed :—अ + घस् + ङ्गि + अन् = अ + घस् + अन् (II. 4. 80) = अ + घ् + • + स् + अन् (VI. 4. 98). Here had the lopa been sthânavat, rule VIII. 4. 55 could not have applied. But it being a char rule, the lopa is not sthânavat. Therefore we have, अङ्गन्.

When lopa is the substitute of a vowel, it is not sthânavat, for the purposes of the application of the rules of accent, rules relating to the doubling of letters, and the rules relating to the elision of ya. In other places, with the exception of the above three ; the lopa substitute of a vowel is, and must be treated as sthânavat. Thus बहुखट्कः, किर्योः, गिर्योः, वाच्योः. In these cases the lopa-âdeśa being sthânavat, the rules relating to accent, lengthening and the elision of ya, do not apply.

द्विर्वचनेऽपि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विर्वचने, अपि, ( स्यानिवत्, आदेशः, अचः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽपि अजादेशः स्यानिवद्भवति द्विर्वचन एव कर्त्तव्ये ॥

59. Before an affix having an initial vowel, which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel even in form, only for the purposes of reduplication and no further.

This sūtra has been explained in different ways by the authors of the Kasika and of the Siddhānta Kaumudī. According to the latter, the sūtra means :—'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows, that is a cause of reduplication, a substitute shall not take the place of a preceding vowel, whilst the reduplication is yet to be made : but the reduplication having been made,

the substitution may then take place.' The explanation given by Kasika is more in harmony with the Great Commentary. For all practical purposes, the two explanations lead to the same conclusion. According to Kasika, the vowel-substitute is sthānivat, in the sense, that it is exactly of the same form as the original, and retains this form only for a fixed time *vis.*, so long as the reduplication is being made; but as soon as the reduplication has been made, the substitute takes its proper form. This rule has its scope in the rules relating (a) to the elision of long आ, (b) to the elision of the penultimate, (c) to the elision of the affix णिच्, (d) to the substitution of semi-vowels for vowels, and lastly (e) to the substitution of अच्, अर्च्, आच् and आर्च् for ए, औ ऐ and औ respectively by the rules of sandhi.

(a). Elision of आ. Let us form the 2nd person perfect tense of the root पा 'to drink.' The termination of 2nd person perfect is अतुस्. This is, therefore, a termination beginning with a vowel, and it causes the reduplication of the root. The conditions of the present sūtra all exist in this. Thus we have पा + अतुस् = प् + • + अतुस् (VI. 4, 64). Here the आ is elided by VI. 4. 64. which teaches that 'the आ of the root is elided before ārdha-dhātuka affixes beginning with a vowel and which are कित् or डित्. and before ह्.' The affix अतुस् is such an affix (I. 2. 5, III. 4. 115).

Now comes the rule about reduplication which is contained in sūtra VI. 1. 8, and teaches that a root consisting of a single vowel is reduplicated before the terminations of the perfect. Here, by the elision of आ, the only visible root left to us is प् which is a consonant without any vowel. The rule of reduplication, therefore, would not have applied to it, because there is no vowel in it, but for the present sūtra, which solves the difficulty. Here the vowel-substitute zero must be considered sthānivat i. e. as if it were the very आ itself. Thus we have पा + प् + • + अतुस् = पपतुस् (VII. 4. 59). The long आ of the reduplicative syllable has been shortened by VII. 4. 59. So also पपुः।

(b). The elision of the penultimate. Let us form the same tense of हन् 'to kill.' हन् + अतुस् = ह् + • + न् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98).

Here also the preliminary conditions are all fulfilled, the affix begins with a vowel and it causes the reduplication of the root. The penultimate अ of हन् is replaced by the substitute lopa by VI. 4. 98, which teaches that the roots गम् 'to go' हन् 'to kill' and a few others lose their penultimate before affixes beginning with a vowel and which are also कित् or डित्. We know अतुस् to be such an affix. For the reasons already given, we can not reduplicate the consonants हन् as they have no vowel. However, this reduplication is effected by virtue of the present rule, and we have:—ह + ह् + अतुस् = जघ्नतुः (VII. 4. 62, VII. 3. 55). The first ह् is changed into ज् by VII. 4. 62 and the second ह् into घ् by VII. 3. 55.

(c). The elision of the affix णिच्. Let us form the Aorist (luñ) of the causative form of अद्. The causative is formed by adding the affix णिच् to the root ; and the aorist takes the augment अ. Thus we have:—अ + अद् + णिच् + न् = आद् + इ + न् = आद् + इ + चद् + न्. The affix चद् (III. 1. 48) is added in forming the aorist of causatives. The letters च् and द् are indicatory, the real affix being अ. Now by VI. 4. 51, the affix णिच् is elided before an Ārdhadhātuka affix that does not take the intermediate इ. Now चद् is such an affix. Therefore we have आद् + ० + अन्.

At this stage, comes into operation another rule (VI. 1. 11), which declares that 'the root is reduplicated before the affix चद्.' The चद् is, thus, an affix which causes reduplication; it is an affix which also begins with a vowel. Therefore, it satisfies the conditions of this sūtra. Therefore, the zero which was a substitute in place of the vowel इ, becomes sthānivat to इ ; as if it were the very इ itself. Thus we have the reduplicative syllable णि, by rule VI. 1. 2, which says that a verb beginning with a vowel reduplicates its second syllable. But as soon as the reduplication is over, the âdeśa takes up its original form of zero. Thus आदिद् + ० + अन् = आदिद्.

(d). The fourth class of cases, where this sūtra has scope, is the substitution of यच् for vowels. Thus let us form the perfect 2nd person singular of कृ 'to do':—कृ + अतुस् = कर् + अतुस्, the semi-vowel इ taking the place of ऋ by the general rule of sandhi VI. 1. 77. Now we have already learned that अतुस् is an affix which causes reduplication and it begins with a vowel. Now इ is a substitute which comes in the place of a vowel (i. e., ऋ), it will therefore be sthānivat by this sūtra. Had it not been sthānivat, the consonants क् could not be reduplicated, as they have no vowel. The substitute इ being taken equal to ऋ, we reduplicate कृ ; in reduplication the क is changed into च् by VII. 4. 62, and ऋ into अ by VII. 4. 66. Thus we have:—चक्रुः ; similarly चक्षुः ।

(e). The fifth case is the substitution of अच् &c. Let us form 1st person singular of the perfect of नी 'to lead': नी + णच् = नै + अ = नाच् + अ. The ई is vriddhied before the termination अ of the perfect (VII. 2. 115), and then changed into आच् by the general rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 78). Now the अ of the perfect causes reduplication, and it is an affix which begins with a vowel. It satisfies the conditions of this sūtra. Therefore the आच् which was a substitute for ऐ, being a vowel substitute, becomes sthānivat to ऐ in form. In reduplicating the word नाच्, we reduplicate as if it were still नै. Thus we have the form निनाय and not ननाय. Similarly निनय, लुलव, and लुलाव.

Why have we used the word "dvirvachane" in the sūtra? Without it, the aphorism would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel

is like the original vowel." Let us form जग्ने the 3rd per. sing, perfect tense (लिट्) of the root ज्ञे "to be exhausted," in the atmanepada. The affix of 3rd per. sing. atm. of लिट्, is एय् (III. 4, 81). Thus ज्ञे + एय् = ज्ञा + एय् (VI. 1. 45). Now here ऐ is changed into आ, on account of the affix एय्; this affix causes reduplication, but still आ is not to be considered as sthānivat to ऐ. For if आ be considered so, then in the next stage ज्ञा + एय् = ज्ञ् + • + एय् (VI. 4. 64) the lopa will be regarded as sthānivat to ऐ and the reduplicative syllable will be जि and not ज; the form being जिग्ने and not जग्ने. But आ is not sthānivat to ऐ, because *for the purposes of reduplication*, the change of ऐ into आ is immaterial; it is the second and further change of आ into zero which is *directly* connected with reduplication, (for if zero be not considered sthānivat, there can be no reduplication); and therefore, this substitute zero should be regarded as sthānivat to आ.

Why do we say "which causes reduplication?" Without these words the sūtra would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." In that case we could not get the form हुयूपति, 3rd per. sing, desiderative present tense of हिच् 'to shine, to play.' This form is thus evolved:—हिच् + सन् (III. 1. 7) = हि + ऊ + सन् (VI. 4. 19) = ह्य् + ऊ + सन् (VI. 1. 77). Here, the change of ह् into ह्य् is caused by ऊ (tech. ऊङ्), which begins with a vowel; is this ह्य् to be regarded as sthānivat to ह्? No, because ऊ does not *cause* reduplication, it is सन् which causes reduplication. Therefore the equation is:—ह्य् + सन् = हुयूपति (VI. 1. 9) = हुयूपति. If ह्य् could be regarded like ह्, then the form would have been हियूपति.

Why do we say "beginning with a vowel"? Otherwise the sūtra would have run thus:—"Before an affix which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel, is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." The affix यङ् of the Intensive verbs causes reduplication (VI. 1. 9); but as it does not begin with a vowel, the substitute will not be sthānivat. Let us form जेघ्रीयते the 3rd per. sing. Intensive of the root घ्रा 'to smell.' Thus घ्रा + यङ् = घ्री + यङ् (VII. 4. 31) = जेघ्रीयते (VII. 4. 82). Here, आ is changed into ई on account of यङ्; but ई is not sthānivat to आ; had it been so, the form would have been जघ्रीयते. Similarly हेध्रीयते.

अदर्शनं लोपः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदर्शनम्, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदर्शनमश्वत्थमनुधारणमनुपलब्धिपरभावो वर्णविनाश इत्यनर्थान्तरमेतेः शब्दै-  
योऽर्थोऽभिधीयते तस्य लोप इतीयं संज्ञा भवति ॥

60. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision. When a letter or word-form becomes latent,

is neither heard, nor pronounced, nor written, it becomes lopa or is said to be elided. Lopa is the term for the disappearance of anything previously apparent.

In Sanskrit Grammar, this "lopa" is considered as a substitute or *ādesa*, and as such this grammatical *zero* has all the rights and liabilities of the thing which it replaces. This blank or lopa is in several places treated as having a real existence and rules are made applicable to it, in the same way as to any ordinary substitute that has an apparent form. The Grammarians do not content themselves with one sort of blank, but have invented several others; there are many kinds of them, such as lopa blank, ślu blank, lup blank, and luk blank, which like different sorts of zeroes of a Mathematician, have different functions.

The word lopa occurs in sūtras VI. 1. 66 and VI. 4. 118 &c. The lopa substitute is a sense substitute, and not a form substitute. Thus when we say 'let the substitute lopa take the place of such and such a letter or word,' we do not mean that the letters ल्, ओ, पू and अ should be substituted there, but the sense of the thing, namely 'disappearance.'

प्रत्ययस्य लुक्-श्लु-लुपः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि॥ प्रत्ययस्य, लुक्-श्लु-लुपः,

( अदर्शनम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययादर्शनस्य लुक् श्लु लुप इत्येताः संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, ślu or lup are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term luk, that disappearance gets the appellation of luk, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms ślu or lup, the disappearance gets the name of ślu or lup.

Thus in अद् + शप् + लुक् + ति = अत्ति 'he eats.' Here the vikaraṇa शप् has been elided by using the word luk (II. 4. 72). Similarly in जुहोति 'he invokes,' the vikaraṇa शप् is elided by the word ślu (II. 4. 75), so in वरणाः 'a city in the vicinity of weeds called varanā.' Here the Taddhita affix indicating vicinity has been elided by the word lup. (IV. 2. 82),

Why do we use the words "of the affix"? Without these words, the sūtra would have run thus:—"The disappearance is called luk, ślu or lup." So that the disappearance of a *base* would also be caused by the use of these terms. Thus in II. 4. 70, there would have been 'luk' of the bases āgastya, and kauṇḍinya; which however is not intended. In that sūtra, the 'luk' of the affixes is only intended. So also in sūtra IV. 3. 168 there would have been the substitution of 'luk' for the *bases* of the words.

प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि॥ प्रत्यय-लोपे, प्रत्यय-लक्षणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययलोपे कृते प्रत्ययलक्षणं प्रत्ययहेतुकं कार्यं भवति ॥

62. When elision of an affix has taken place (lopa), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependant upon it, take place as if it were present.

This sūtra declares that when an affix disappears by lopa-elision its potency does not disappear. Thus the term 'pada' is defined to be that which ends in a case-affix or a conjugational-affix. But after certain bases, these affixes vanish; still those bases become 'pada' in spite of the vanishing of the whole affix. How can an operation directed by an affix take place, when the affix itself vanishes, is a doubt which may naturally arise. This sūtra answers the question. Though an affix may be elided by lopa, yet an operation of which such an affix was the cause, must take place. Thus अग्निचिद् is a pada though the case-termination has been elided. Similarly the word अधोक् 'he milked;' which is the Imperfect (लङ्) of दुह्, and is thus formed. असोह् + तिप् = असोह् + त् (III. 4. 100) = असोह् + ◦ (VI. 1. 68) = असोष् + ◦ (VIII. 2. 32) (here ह् is changed into ष् by taking the word 'aduh' as a 'pada') अधोष् + ◦ (VIII. 2. 37) = अधोन् (VIII. 2. 39) = अधोक्.

Why have we used the word प्रत्यय in this aphorism again, when its anuvṛitti was understood in this sūtra from the last? This repetition indicates that the present rule applies where the *whole* of the affix is elided, and not when a *portion* of an affix is elided. The present sūtra, therefore, does not apply to forms like आग्नीय and सङ्गीय. These forms are the 1st person sing. लिङ् Atmanepada of हन् and गन्. Thus आहन् + इट् = आहन् + अ (III. 4. 106) = आहन् + सीयुट् + अ (III. 4. 102) = आहन् + ईय् + अ. Here, सू a portion of the affix सीयुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79; now there will be no प्रत्ययलक्षण of this partial elision of an affix. Had it been so, the final nasal न् of आहन् would have been elided by VI. 4. 37: but that is not so: and we have आग्नीय (VII. 3. 54 and VI. 4. 98).

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised. The word प्रत्ययलक्षण, therefore, means the effect by which an affix could be recognised. The orthographical changes, like the following, are not however pratyaya-lakshana. In forming the genitive singular of रै 'wealth,' we have रै + असु = रायः; here, the change of ऐ into आस् by the rules of sandhi, though caused by the affix असु; is not such an effect, which the affix causes, *by virtue of being an affix*, but it is an effect caused by the accidental fact, that the affix begins with a vowel, and thus gives scope to the euphonic rule VI. 1. 78. Therefore, when in forming the genitive compound of रायः + कुलं, we elide the case-affix असु, we get the form रैकुलम्. Here the elided affix will not cause the peculiar orthographic change mentioned above, which is dependent upon its letters, and not upon the affix as such.

न लुमताङ्गस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुमता, अङ्गस्य, ( प्रत्यय-  
लक्षणम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुमता शब्देन लुमे प्रत्यये वङ्गः तस्य प्रत्ययलक्षणं कार्यं न भवति ॥

63. Of the base (anga), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing च्, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sūtra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive. It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words लुक्, इलु, or लुप्, then the 'sign' or लक्षण or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix by force of the words लुप् &c.; and by the word लोप. In one case the virtue of the affix subsists inspite of the elision, in the other it does not.

The word अङ्ग in this sūtra requires some explanation. "A root, followed by a suffix (pratyaya), is raised to the dignity of a base (prâtipadika); and finally becomes a real word (pada) when it is finished by receiving a case-termination (vibhakti). Every base, with regard to the suffix which is attached to it, is called Anga, body."

Thus the word गर्गाः is the plural of the word गार्ग्यः. The word गार्ग्यः is formed by adding the affix यञ् to गर्ग (IV. 1. 105); the force of the indicator च् being to cause the वृद्धि of the first vowel of the word (VII. 2. 117). But in forming the plural of गार्ग्यः, rule II. 4. 64 presents itself, which declares that there is लुक् of the affix यञ् when the word takes the plural. Here the affix यञ् is elided by the word लुक्, which means not only the elision of the य of गार्ग्यः but also the shortening of च् into च्, that is, the affix being elided, it vanishes altogether, leaving no trace behind, in the shape of the वृद्धि of the first vowel, which the affix was competent to cause.

Similarly वृष्टः is the 3rd per. dual present tense of वृञ् 'to clean.' It belongs to Adâdi class in which the vikarâṇa शप् is elided by 'luk' (II. 4. 72); and hence there is no वृद्धि substitution, which would have taken place by VII. 2. 114, (the ik of the base वृञ् is वृद्धि before verbal affixes).

Similarly जुहतः 'they two sacrifice'; here the vikarâṇa शप् has been elided by using the word 'ślu' (II. 4. 75, let ślu be substituted in the room of śap after the verbs hu &c). The effect of this elision is, that there is no गुण substitution of the vowel of the base, which शप् was competent to cause.

When an affix is elided in any other way than by the enunciation of the three terms containing लु, it is competent to cause its proper effect. Thus कृ + षिच् + यक् + ते = कारि + यक् + ते = कार् + यक् + ते = कार्यते. Here the elision of the affix षिच् is by 'lopa,' (VI. 4. 51) and hence though the affix vanishes, its effect remains. Why do we say 'in respect of an Anga or inflective base?' Observe पञ्च 'five,' सप्त 'seven,' पक्वः 'milk,' साम 'sâma veda.' Here in the word pañcha, the plural case-affix is elided by VII. 1. 22



(after the words called *shaṭ*, the *जस्* and *शस्* are elided by 'luk'). Here the affix is elided by enouncing the word 'luk,' the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the *anga* or inflective base; such as lengthening, as in *rājan*, 'a king,' i. p. *rājānaḥ* 'kings.' But though it is inoperative as regards the *anga*, the elided affix is not altogether inactive. It retains the virtue of raising the base to the dignity of a *pada*. Thus:—*पंचन् + जस् = पंचन् + ०*, (luk VII. 1. 22). The word *pañchan* is now a *pada*, and as such, it drops its final *न्*.

अधोऽन्त्यादि टि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, अन्त्यादि, टि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच्चां संनिविष्टानां योऽन्त्योश्च तदाहि शब्दरूपं टिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

64. The final portion of a word, beginning with the last among the vowels in the word, is called *टि*.

This *sūtra* defines *टि*. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word *अग्निचिद्* the portion *इद्* is *टि*; so also in *सामसुद्* the portion *उद्*. The word *टि* occurs in *sūtra* III. 4. 79.

The word *अचः* in the *sūtra* is in the genitive case, which has the force of *nirdhāraṇa* or specification; and though it is in the singular number, it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels.'

अधोऽन्त्यात्पूर्वं उपधा ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यात्, पूर्वः, उपधा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वादीवर्णं समुदायेऽन्त्यादलः पूर्वोयो वर्णः सोऽन्त्योपधा संज्ञो भवति ॥

65. The letter immediately preceding the last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

This defines *उपधा* or penultimate. Thus in the words *पच्*, *भिद्*, *इष्*, *इद्* the letters *च*, *इ*, *ड*, and *ङ* are *उपधा*.

The word 'upadhā' occurs in *sūtra* VII. 2. 116.

तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन्, इति, निर्दिष्टे, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्निति समन्वयनिर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्यैव कार्यं भवति नोत्तरस्य ॥

66. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these *sūtras*, the operation directed, is to be understood as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting *sūtra*. When in a *sūtra*, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that *sūtra* is to be per-

formed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77) the word यचि is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऋ ल followed by a vowel (अच्) are changed into इ, उ, ए, ऌ, (यच्). The literal translation of the sūtra being:—‘Of इक् there is यच् in यच्.’ The force of ‘in’ or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus इधि + उक्कम् = इधुक्कम् ; so मधिवद्म्, पचत्योदनम् ॥

The word nirdishṭa (meaning ‘exhibited’) has been used in the sūtra to indicate immediateness. Thus in अमिचित्, the इ of अमि is not directly followed by the इ of चित्, there being the letter च् intervening, therefore, rule VI. 1. 77, does not apply here : and we have no sandhi.

तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, इति, उत्तरस्य,  
( निर्दिष्टे ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मादिति पञ्चम्यर्थनिर्देश उत्तरस्यैव कार्यं भवति न पूर्वस्य ॥

67. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sūtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sūtra VIII. 4. 61 declares that ‘after उक्, of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.’ Thus उक् + स्थानम्. Here the word उक्: is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter च् must be substituted in the place of sthâna, and by I. 1. 54 *ante*, this dental takes the place of स्; we have उक् + स्थानम् = उक्च-थानम्. Similarly in sūtra तिङ् इतिङ्: (VIII.2. 18, ‘a word ending in a conjugational affix, when following after a word ending in a non-conjugational affix, becomes anudâtta.’) Here the word ‘atiṅah’ is exhibited in the ablative case, therefore, the operation directed by this aphorism, namely, the substitution of anudâtta accent, must take place in the word that follows. Thus श्रोतुनं पंचति ; but not so in पंचत्योतुनमिति ॥

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, रूपम्,  
शब्दस्य, अशब्दसंज्ञा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दे स्वमेव रूपं शब्दस्य प्राप्तं बोध्यप्रत्यायनं भवति न वाश्रोतुर्षः शब्दसंज्ञां वच्य-  
यित्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ \* सिद्धदिशेषाणां वृत्तापर्यन्तम् \* ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ \* पितृर्यायवचनस्य च स्वाध्यायम् \* ॥  
 वार्तिकम् ॥ \* जितृर्यायवचनस्यैव राजाध्यायम् \* ॥  
 वार्तिकम् ॥ \* द्वित्तिद्विषोषाणाञ्च मत्स्याध्यायम् \* ॥

68. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word स्व् which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' and the word रूप denotes 'the individual form of a word.' The sense of the sūtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words स्व् and रूप, *viz.*, its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to अग्नि will be applicable to the word composed of अ, ग्, न्, इ and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, पाककः, ज्वलनः &c.

In this science, therefore, the very word-form is to be taken, and understood and operated upon, and not external sense: with the exception of words which are definitions, in the latter case the things defined are to be taken:

This sūtra is begun in order to remove the difficulty which might otherwise arise from a consideration that a word connotes a certain meaning, and as no grammatical operation is possible in a concrete object, we must take the words having the same meaning. As when a person is called to bring a 'cow,' he brings the animal cow, and not the letters c, o, w. It may therefore be said, that as no grammatical operation is possible in a material thing, we may take all the names synonymous with the word and operate upon them; this sūtra removes that doubt.

Thus the sūtra अग्नेर्देक् (IV. 2. 33) declares:—"that the affix 'ḍhak' comes after the word 'agni'." Thus अग्नि + ढक् = आग्नेयम् "belonging to agni," as in the following sentence आग्नेयमटाकपालं निर्वपेत्. Here the word अग्नि indicates the individual word-form अग्नि and not its synonyms. Similarly sūtra IV. 2. 19 declares:—"let there be optionally ढक् after उदश्चित्." As औदश्चित्कम् (VII. 3. 50 and 51) or औदश्चितम्. The rule applies to the word-form 'udaśvita' meaning 'curd-milk' and not to तक्र, अरिट, कालशेष, एण्डाहव and मथित, which are synonyms.

There is an important exception to this rule, and that is in favour of terms which are technical terms of Grammar and have been so defined.

Thus शधाध्वहाद् (I. 1. 20) and तरलमपौ चः (I. 1. 22). Here the words 'धु' and 'च' denote the words connoted by those terms and not to their word-form. There are, however, some sūtras in Pāṇini which are ap-

parently exceptions to this rule. These exceptions have been arranged under four heads, technically called सिन्, पिन्, जिन्, and भिन्. When there is a rule about a word, it may mean that very word-form, or words representing species falling under that word, or words which are synonymous with it. Thus rule II. 4. 12 declares, :—“वृक्ष ‘tree’ मृग ‘deer,’ द्रव्य ‘grass,’ &c., may optionally be compounded as dvandva.” Here the word वृक्ष stands as a generic name for the species falling under it, and does not represent the word-form, वृक्ष. Thus we have dvandva-compound of वृक्ष + न्यमोध, as वृक्षन्यमोधन् or वृक्षन्यमोधाः । Such sūtras are called सिन्.

Then in sūtra III. 4. 40, we have an example of पिन्. That sūtra means “the word पुष ‘to feed’ takes the affix णमुञ्ज (अम्) when compounded with the word स्व.” Here the word ‘स्व’ means both the word-form स्व, as well as the synonyms of स्व and the species of स्व. Thus स्व and धन ‘wealth’ are synonyms ; while स्व ‘wealth’ and गो ‘cow’ are genus and species. Thus स्व + पुष् + णमुल् = स्वपोषन्. Similarly रैपोषन्, धनपोषन्, गोपोषन्, अश्वपोषन्. Such sūtras are called पिन्.

Then in sūtra II. 4. 23, we have an example of जिन्. “A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word सभा ‘court’ is neuter, provided that it is preceded by the word rājā, or by a word denoting a non-human being.” Here the synonyms only of the word ‘rājā’ are taken, and neither the word-form ‘rājā,’ nor the special instances falling under it. Thus इन ‘king’ + सभा = इनसभन् ‘king’s assembly,’ ईश्वर + सभा = ईश्वरसभन् ‘king’s assembly.’ But not राजसभन्, but राजसभा. Nor can we take particular kings, such as चन्द्रगुप्त or पुष्पमित्र. In their case we must have पुष्पमित्रसभा, चन्द्रगुप्तसभा.

Then in sūtra IV. 4. 35, we have an example of भिन्. The sūtra means “the words पक्षि ‘bird’ मत्स्य ‘fish’ मृग ‘deer,’ take the affix ठक् when the meaning is the killer thereof.” Here the words पक्षि &c. denote both the word-forms पक्षि &c. as well as the species denoted by those terms, but not their synonyms. Thus पक्षि + ठक् = पाक्षिकः ‘a bird-killer,’ मात्स्यिकः, ‘a fish-catcher.’ शकुनि + ठक् = शाकुनिकः ‘a vulture-killer.’ But we cannot take the synonyms of ‘पक्षि,’ &c. except in the case of ‘मत्स्य,’ when we may take the word ‘मीन.’ As मात्स्यिकः and मैनिकः ‘a fish killer.’

अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, उदित्, सवर्णस्य, च, अप्रत्ययः ( स्वरूपं ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अण् गुह्यमाण उदित्य सवर्णानां माहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य प्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा ॥

69. The letters of the Pratyahāra अण् i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having उ for its indicative letter, refer to their own form as well as to their

homogeneous letters, except when they are used as pratyāyās or affixes.

The pratyāhāra अण् in thus sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अण् pratyāhāra refers to the second ण् of जण्. The letters included in अण्, and the letters having an indicative उ, refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus कु refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly चु, ङु, ङु, and ङु, as in sūtra I. 3. 8. Similarly अ includes short, long and protracted अ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra: Thus sūtra आङ्गुणः (VI. 1. 87), 'when a vowel comes after अ, गुण is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short अ, we take the long आ also. Thus not only नर + ईशः = नरेशः; but महा + ईशः = महेशः । So also in sūtra अस्य च्वौ (VII. 4. 32), 'there is long ई in the room of अ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50) follows.' Here long आ is also included; thus कृष्ण + करोति = कृष्णीकरोति, and खट्वा + करोति = खट्वाकरोति. So also in sūtra यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148). 'When long ई follows, there is elision of the इ or अ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई and आ also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sūtra III. 2. 168; says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words āśansa and bhiksha, there is उ.' Here उ is an affix and therefore does not include long ऊ. Thus भिक्षुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV. 3. 9, the short अ only is to be taken and not the long one.

तपरस्तत्कालस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ त-परः, तत्-कालस्य, ( रचं  
रूपम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तपरो वर्णस्तत्कालस्यात्मनानुत्पन्नकालस्य गुणान्तरयुक्तस्य सवर्णस्य प्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

70. The letter which has त् after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time.

By the previous sūtra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus अ includes आ; and इ, ई; &c. This sūtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a त् either after or before the letter. Thus अत् means the very letter अ and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly उत् means short उ only and not long or protracted उ. We had to refer to this sūtra, in our very first sūtra, in explaining the term आत्.

The sūtra consists of two words तपरः and तत्कालस्य. Taparaḥ means that which has a त् after it or that which is after त्. Tat-kāla means having the same time. According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त्, refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अत् will include the udātta, anudātta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अ and not the long and protracted forms.

This sūtra declares an injunction. The anuvṛitti of अत् of the previous sūtra does not run into this sūtra. Any other letter than अत् may be followed by त् and the rule of this sūtra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sūtra which would therefore mean that an अत् letter which is not followed or preceded by a त् includes its homogeneous letters also.

Thus in the sūtra VII. 1. 9 अतोभिस ऐस्. 'After words ending in अत् (i. e. short अ), ऐस् takes the place of भिस्.' Thus वृक्षेः. But in खट्वा which ends in long आ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खट्वाभिः .

आदिरन्त्येन सहेता ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, अन्त्येन, सह,  
इता, ( स्वं रूपम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरन्त्येनेत्संज्ञकेन सह गृह्यमाणस्तन्मध्यपतितानां वर्णानां माहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

71. An initial letter, with a final इत् letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting pratyāhāras. Thus the pratyāhāra अक् means those letters whose beginning is अ and whose final इत् is क्.

Why do we say with the 'final' indicative letter?' Because a pratyāhāra like सुद् would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final द् of औद् and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial द् of द् and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sūtra clears up the doubt. A pratyāhāra is formed with the final इत् and not with the initial इत्.

येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, विधिः, तद्-अन्तस्य,  
( स्वं रूपम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन विशेषणेन विधिर्विधीयते सतदन्तस्यात्मान्तस्य समुदायस्य माहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ \* समास प्रत्ययविधौ तदन्तविधेः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ \*

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ \* उगिद्वयर्णमहणवर्जम् ॥ \*

परिभाषा ॥ \* यस्मिन्विधिस्तदाशब्दमहणे ॥ \*

72. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sūtra consists of three words :—येन 'by what (attribute),' विधिः 'rule,' तदन्तस्य 'having that (attribute) at its end.'

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97) declaring "let there be the affix यत् after the vowels." Here the phrase "after the vowels" means and includes "after the roots *ending* in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus चि + यत् = चैयम्. Therefore, this sūtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words *ending* in vowels; a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words ending in those forms.

Thus the sūtra एरच् (III. 3. 56) 'after इ there is अच्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ. Thus इ + अच् = अयः, चि + अच् = चयः ॥

*Vart* :—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samāsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sūtra II. 1. 24, declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कष्टं + भितः = कष्टभितः 'involved in pain.' The present sūtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that *ends* in śrita; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्टं + परमभितः ॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 99 declares "that the words नड &c., take the affix फक्." Thus नड + फक् = नाडायनः। But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूत्रनड, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूत्रनड will be called सूत्रनाडि and not as above.

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following :—

*Vart* :—The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes

that have an indicatory उक् (उ, ऋ, लृ), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktavatu (I. 1. 26) has an indicatory उ, and we have कृतवत्. A rule which will apply to kṛitavat will apply also to the word which ends in kṛitavat. Thus the feminine of kṛitavat is कृतवती (IV. 1. 6), the feminine of sukṛitavat will be sukṛitavatī. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 अत इञ् says "after अ there is the affix इञ्." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus दक्ष + इञ् = दक्षि 'the son of Daksha.'

*Vart* :—When a term, which denotes a letter, is exhibited in a rule in the form of the locative case and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it.

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 77, achi śnu dhātu bhruvām yvor iyañ uvañau, means "iyañ and uvañ are the substitutes of what ends with the pratyaya śnu and what ends in a verbal root in इ or उ, whether long or short, and of the inflective base bhrū, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows." Here the word 'achi' is exhibited in the seventh case, which literally means 'when a vowel follows;' but by virtue of the present vārtika it means, 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows,' as. अचिः, ध्रुवः ॥

वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद् वृद्धम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, यस्य,

अचाम्, आदिः, तद्, वृद्धम् ॥

वृद्धिः ॥ अचामध्ये यस्य वृद्धिसंज्ञक आदिभूतस्तच्छब्दरूपं वृद्धसंज्ञं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ \*गोत्रान्तादसमस्तवत्प्रत्ययो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्\* ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ \* वा नामधेयस्य वृद्ध संज्ञा वक्तव्यः ॥ \*

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ \* जिह्वाकात्यहरितंकार्य वर्जम् ॥ \*

73. That word, among the vowels of which the first is a vṛiddhi, is called vṛiddham.

This defines the word वृद्धम्. The sūtra consists of five words :— वृद्धिः 'the vṛiddhi vowel;' यस्य 'whose,' अचाम् 'among the vowels,' आदिः 'is first;' तद् 'that;' वृद्धम् 'is called vṛiddham.'

If a word consisting of many vowels, has a vṛiddhi vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called vṛiddham. Thus the words माला, शाला &c., have the first vowel आ a vṛiddhi vowel, therefore, they are called vṛiddham.



The word *vṛiddham* has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words certain *taddhita* affixes. Thus there is a rule (IV. 2. 114) by which the affix *छ* is added to *vṛiddham*. Thus *माला + छ = मालीबः* ॥

Why do we say "the first?" Because a word like *सभासंनयन*, which is not a *vṛiddha* word, will not admit of the affix *छ*. Its corresponding derivative will be *सभासंनयनः* ॥

*Vart*:—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a *vṛiddham*. Thus *देवदत्त + छ = देवदत्तीया*, or we may have *देवदत्ता*.

*Vart*:—A compound ending in a *Gotra* word, is regarded for the purposes of the addition of this affix, as if it was not compounded. Thus *रौढि* is a *Gotra* word and also *vṛiddham*. Its compound *घृतरौढि* will be regarded as a *vṛiddham* too, for the addition of the affix. As *घृतरौढि + छ = घृतरौढीया*: 'the students of *Ghṛitarauḍhi*.' So also *श्रोत्रपाणिनीयाः*, *बृहाम्भीयाः*, *बृहकाश्यपीयाः* &c.

*Vart*:—Exception must be made in the case of *जिह्वाकात्य* and *हरितकात्य* ॥ They do not take *छ*. Thus *जैह्वाकाता* and *हरितकाता* .

त्यदादीनि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदीनि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि वृद्धसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

74. The words *tyad* &c., are also called *vṛiddham*.

The *त्यद्* &c. have been given in the list of *sarvanāmas*. See *sūtra* 27. These words are also called *vṛiddham*. Thus *तद् + छ = तदीयम्*, *एतदीयम्*, *मदीयम्*, *इदमीयम्*, *अवसीयम्*, *स्वादायनिः*, *मादायनिः* &c.

एङ् प्राचां देशे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्, प्राचाम्, देशे, (यस्या-  
चामादिः, वृद्धम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ् यस्याचामादिस्तत्प्राग्देशाभिधाने वृद्धसंज्ञं भवति ॥

75. A word that has the letters *ए* and *ओ* as the first among its vowels, gets also the designation of *vṛiddham*, when it is the name of Eastern countries.

As *गोनर्* is a country of the east, it is a *vṛiddham* word and we have *गोनर् + छ = गोनर्दीयः*; similarly *एणीपचनीयम्*, *भोजकरीबः*.

The word *prāk* in the *sūtra* has been differently interpreted. The Grammarian Kuṇin takes the word *prāk* as an epithet qualifying the word *śchārya*, 'professor' understood. In that case the *sūtra* will be thus translated:—'In the opinion of the Eastern (or ancient) professors, a word that has the letters *e* and *o* as the first among its vowels, and is the name of a country, is called *vriddham*.' Under this interpretation, this will be an optional rule only, giving the opinion of eastern or ancient grammarians.

Others however take the word *prāk* as qualifying the word *deśa* and the meaning then is as given in the text.

Why do we say 'having the letters *ए* and *ओ*'? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called *vriddham*: and as such will not take the affix *छ*; as *आहिच्छन्*, *कान्यकुब्जः*.

Why do we say of 'Eastern country'? Because this rule does not apply to a word like *देवदत्तः* which is the name of a town in the Punjab, which is not an eastern country. Its secondary derivative will be *देवदत्तः*, born in *Devadatta*.

Why do we say 'country'? The rule will not apply to rivers &c. Thus from *गोमति* we have *गौमताः* 'fish born in the river Gomati.'

ओ३म्

# ॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER II.

गाङ् कुटादिभ्योऽङ्णिन्डित् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाङ्-कुट्-आदि-  
भ्यः , अङ्णिन्त् , डित् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाङ्कुटादिभ्यः परेऽङ्णिन्त् प्रत्यया डितो भवन्ति, डिङ्ङवन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ \* व्यञ्जेः कुटादित्थमनसीति वृक्तव्यम् ॥

1. All affixes after the verb gāṅ 'to study' and the verb kuṭ 'to be crooked,' and the rest, are as if they had an indicatory ङ् (ñit), except those affixes which have an indicatory ञ् (ñit) or ञ् (ñit).

This is an atideśa sūtra, and makes certain affixes, though not having an indicatory ङ्, to produce the same effect as if they were really डिङ्.

The root गाङ् is substituted for the verb इङ् in certain tenses, in which the verb इङ् is defective (II. 4. 49). The कुटादि verbs are roots belonging to the Tudādi class of verbs, and they are forty roots beginning with कुट् 'to be crooked' and ending with कुङ् 'to groan.'

After these roots all affixes are treated as if they were marked with a ङ् with the exception of those affixes which are ञिन्त् or णिन्त्.

Thus from गाङ्, we have in the aorist the form अङ्गिण्ट्; which is thus evolved. अङ् + अङ् + इङ् + सिञ् + त = अङ्ग + गा + स्र + त (II. 4. 50) = अङ्ग + गी + स्त (VI. 4. 66) = अङ्गिण्ट् 'he studied,' अङ्गिण्ता 'they two studied,' अङ्गिण्त 'they studied.' Here by VI. 4. 66, the ञ् is changed into इ before the affix सिञ्, which is regarded as डिङ्.

Similarly, after the verbs कुट् &c., all affixes are treated as डिङ्, with the exceptions already mentioned.

Thus कुट् + तच् (III. 1. 133) = कुट् + इङ् + तच् (VII. 2. 35) = कुटिङ्, nominative singular कुटिता 'who acts crookedly.' Here the affix तच् being regarded as डिङ् does not cause the guṇa substitution of the उ of कुट्. by I. 1. 15.

Similarly with the affixes लुप् and ल्यप्, we have कुटिलुप् and कुटिल्यप्. So on with all the forty roots of kuṭādi class: e. g. उरुपुटिता उरुपुटितुम्, उरुपुटित्यम्.

But the affixes marked with झ् or ञ् will not be so treated. Thus णिञ् by which causatives are formed, is such an affix ; e. g. उक्कुद् + णिञ् + शप् + तिप् = उक्कोद् + इ + श् + ति = उक्कोटयति. Here there is guṇa of the उ of कुद्. So also before the affix णल् of the perfect tense, we have उक्कुकोट्, and before the affix ष्वञ् we have उक्कोटकः ।

*Vārtika*:—The root व्यच् 'to deceive,' is also treated like kuṭādi verbs, except before the affix अस्. As विचिता 'he shall deceive,' विचिनुम् 'for the purpose of deceiving' विचितव्यम् &c. Here there is samprasāraṇa before the ñit terminations ता, तुम् and तव्यम्, and the च of व्यच् is changed into इ by rule VI. 1. 16.

But the affix अस् is not ñit and consequently there is no samprasāraṇa before it. Thus उरुच्यथा: 'an imp.'

विज इट् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ विजः, इट्, (डित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओविजि भयञ्जनयोः, अस्तास्पर इडादिःप्रत्ययो डित्त्वति ॥

2. An affix that begins with the augment इट् (VII. 2. 35) is ñit after the root *vij.*, 'to fear, to move.'

The root विञ् does not strengthen its vowel before the affixes that take the intermediate इ, because those terminations are treated like डित् affixes. The root विञ् belongs to the Tudādi class. Thus उद्विजिता 'he will be agitated,' उद्विजिनुम् 'for the purpose of being agitated.' उद्विजितव्यम् 'ought to be agitated.'

But those affixes, which are not preceded by the augment इट्, are not like डित्, and they consequently produce their own proper action, such as gunation &c. As उन् + विञ् + ल्युट् = उद्वेजनम्, उद्वेजनीयम् 'that which ought to be agitated.'

विभाषोर्णाः ॥३॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ऊर्णाः । (डित्, इट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णुम् आच्छादने, अस्तास्पर इडादिःप्रत्ययो विभाषा डित्त्वति ॥

3. After the verb ūṇa 'to cover,' the affix beginning with the augment इट् is regarded optionally like ñit.

Thus before the इडादि termination इता of the future, we may have either प्रोर्णुविता or प्रोर्णविता "he will cover."

The equation of the form is:—प्र + ऊर्णु + इ + ता = प्र + ऊर्णु + इता (VI. 4. 77) = प्रोर्णुविता. When the affix is not regarded as डित्, it produces guṇa, and we have the second form प्रोर्णविता ॥

Of course there is no option allowed before those affixes which do not take the augment इट्, and before those terminations, consequently, we have only one form : as प्रोर्णु + ल्युट् = प्रोर्णो + अन् = प्रोर्णवन् 'covering,' प्रोर्णवनीयम् 'which ought to be covered.'

सार्वधातुकमपित् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुकम् , अप्-इत् ,  
(ङित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुकं यदपित्तन्ङित्भवति ॥

4. A *Sārvadhātuka* (III. 4. 113) affix not having an indicative *ए* is like *ṅit*.

The terminations which are added to roots are either *Sārvadhātuka* or *ārdhadhātuka*. The *Sārvadhātuka* terminations are all those that are marked with a *ए* and also the tense terminations called *कित्*, the latter are the following:—

	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual.</i>	<i>pl.</i>	
3rd Pers.	तिप्	तस्	मि	} Parasmaipada.
2nd Pers.	सिप्	थस्	थ	
1st Pers.	मिप्	वस्	मस्	
3rd Pers.	त्	आताम्	ष्ट	} Atmanepada.
2nd Pers.	थास्	आथाम्	ध्वम्	
1st Pers.	इद्	वहि	महिद्	

Except the terminations marked with a *ए* such as *ति सि* and *मि* &c. all the other *Sārvadhātuka* terminations are *ङित्*. The *शित्* terminations like *शद्*, *शानच्* &c., are also *Sārvadhātuka* terminations. These affixes are also *ङित्*, unless they have a *ए* as indicative, as *शप्*. Thus the affix *तस्*, being an *अपित्* *Sārvadhātuka* affix, is a *ङित्*, and before it the vowel is not gunated: e. g. कुरुत: 'they two do.' The equation is:—*कृ+उ+तस्* (the *उ* is added by Rule III. 1. 79) = *कृ+उ+तस्* (VI. 4. 110) = *कुरु+तस्* = कुरुतः ॥ Similarly क्वर्वन्ति 'they do.'

Here the *अ* of *कृ* is changed into *उ* and we have *कुरु*, by virtue of rule VI. 4. 110, which declares that the *अ* of the verb *कृ* is changed into *उ* before those *Sārvadhātuka* affixes which are *ङित्* or *कित्*. Here *तस्* is a *Sārvadhātuka* *ङित्* affix by the present rule, and hence the change.

These four sūtras describe the *ङित्* terminations.

Why do we say 'a *Sārvadhātuka* affix.'? Because an *ārdhadhātuka* affix though not being marked with an indicative *ए* will not be a *ङित्*. As कर्ता 'doer,' कर्तुम् 'to do' कर्तव्यम् 'duty.'

Why do we say 'not having an indicative *ए*'? If a *Sārvadhātuka* affix has an indicative *ए* it will not be *ṅit*. As कृ+उ+तिप्=करोति 'he does:' करोषि 'thou doest,' करोमि 'I do.'

असंयोगाङ्गित् कित् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंयोगात् , लिट् ,  
कित् , (अपित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंयोगान्ताद्धातोः परो ङित् प्रत्ययोऽपित् कित्भवति ॥

5. The affixes of *Liṭ* (Perfect Tense) not coming after a conjunct consonant, are as if they had an indicative क् (*kit*).

With this sūtra begins the description of affixes which are regarded as कित् though not actually having a क् to mark them as such. The terminations of लिट् (Perfect) not being पित् terminations, are कित्, after verbs that have no compound consonants. The phrase अपित् (not being marked with प्) qualifies this sūtra also, being drawn from the previous sūtra by the rule of Anuvṛitti.

Thus from निद् 'to tear' the Reduplicated non-*pit* second person perfect is विनिद्तुः 'thou hast torn.' चिनिद्तुः 'they have torn.'

Similarly चिच्छिद्तुः 'thou hast divided;' चिच्छिद्तुः 'you divided;' ईजतुः and ईजुः.

This rule will not apply if the root ends in a conjunct consonant. Thus संस्र 'to fall down' forms its second person Perfect:—संस्रस् + अतुस् = संस्रतुः. Here the affix is not treated as *kit*; for had it been so treated, it would have caused the elision of the penultimate nasal (*anusvāra*) of संस्र by rule VI. 4. 24. Similarly from धंस्र we have दधंसे.

The *pit* terminations of the Perfect are not *kit*; and therefore, we have विभेद् 'he has divided,' where the root is gunated before the 3rd person singular termination एद् which is a पित् termination, because it being the substitute of तिप् is regarded like तिप् by I. 1. 56.

इन्धिभवतिभ्यां च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्धि-भवतिभ्याम्, च,

( लिट् कित् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्धिभवतीत्येताभ्यां परो लिट् प्रत्ययः किङ्कवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ \* अन्धिप्रन्धिदम्भिस्वञ्जानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

6. The *Liṭ* or Perfect Tense affixes after the roots *indhi* 'to kindle,' and *bhu* 'to become,' also are *kit*.

After these two roots the terminations of the Perfect are कित्. These roots have been especially mentioned, because the root इन्धि ending in a compound consonant will not be governed by sūtra 5; and the root भू is mentioned because all the terminations of the Perfect are कित् after भू, not excepting the पित् terminations. Thus the verbs समीधे and ईधे are illustrations of Perfect Tense from the root इन्ध् as in the following examples:—समीधे इत्युदन्तमम्, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 15), and पुन ईधे अयर्वणः, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 14). Here the nasal of the root is dropped by regarding the affix as कित् ॥ Similarly from the root भू, we have बभूव, बभूविय ॥

*Vart*:—This rule should be applied also to the verbs भृष् 'to loosen,' भृष्ट 'to fasten,' भृष् 'to injure' and स्वञ्ज 'to embrace.' As श्रेयतुः 'thou hast

loosened' अय् + अतुस् = अय् + अतुस्. (The त् is elided by the rule already mentioned in the last sūtra *vis.*, VI. 4. 24).

= अय् + अय् + अतुस् = अयेतुः (VI. 4. 120). Similarly भयेतुः; वेभतुः, परिपस्वजे, परिपस्वजावे.

सृडसृदगुधकुषक्लिशवदवसः क्त्वा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृड-सृद-गुध  
कुष-क्लिश-वद-वसः, क्त्वा ( कित् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृड सृद गुध कुष क्लिश वद वस् इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वाप्रत्ययः कित्त्वति ॥

7. The affix *ktvd* is *kit* after *mṛiḍ* 'to be gracious,' *mṛiḍ* 'to squeeze,' *gudh* 'to wrap up,' *kush* 'to tear,' *kliś* 'to suffer,' *vad* 'to speak' and to *vas* 'dwell'

After these seven verbs, the gerundial *ktvd* is *kit*. It might be objected, what was the necessity of this sūtra? The affix *ktvd* is clearly a *kit* affix, as it is marked with the diacritical letter क्, and it was useless to call it a *kit* affix after these verbs. The reason of this apparent repetition is this. Though *ktvd* is a *kit* affix generally; but there is a later sūtra in this chapter (I. 2. 18) which declares that the prefix क्त्वा is not कित्, if it is preceded by the intermediate इ. Or in other words, if क्त्वा is added to those verbs, which are called सेट् verbs, *viz.*, that take an intermediate इ, it is not then *kit*. Thus the verb शी 'to sleep' is सेट्. Therefore शी + इ + खा = शे + इ + ख = शयित्वा.

Now it happens that all the seven verbs mentioned in the sūtra are सेट् verbs, and take an intermediate इ. The क्त्वा before these verbs would have lost its *kit*ness by virtue of sūtra 18; therefore arose the necessity of this sūtra, to provide in anticipation an exception to that sūtra, in favor of these verbs, where the affix *ktvd* is necessarily *kit*. Thus we have सृडित्वा 'being gracious' सृदित्वा 'having squeezed' गुधित्वा 'having wrapped' कुषित्वा 'having torn,' क्लिशित्वा 'having suffered' उदित्वा 'having spoken' वदित्वा 'having dwelt.' The व of वट् and वस् are changed into व by the rule of Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15).

Moreover in the case of the verbs गुष्, कुष् and क्लिष्, sūtra 26 would have made क्त्वा optionally *kit*; the present sūtra makes it necessarily so.

रुदविदमुषग्रहिस्वपिप्रच्छः संञ्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद-विद-मुष-  
ग्रहि-स्वपि-प्रच्छ संञ्च, ( क्त्वा कित् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुद विद मुष ग्रहि स्वपि प्रच्छ इत्येतेभ्यः संञ्च क्त्वा च कित्त्वो भवतः ॥

8. The affixes *ktvd* and *san* (III. 1. 7) are *kit*, after *rud* 'to weep,' *vid* 'to know,' *mush* 'to steal,' *grah* 'to seize,' *svap* 'to sleep,' and *prachchh* 'to ask.'

After the above mentioned verbs the *ktvā* though taking an intermediate इ, and the affix सन् are कित्. The affix सन् is employed in forming desiderative verbs. The न् of सन् is इत्, the real affix being स. The root is reduplicated before this सन् affix. Thus रुदित्वा 'having cried,' रुदित्वाति 'he wishes to cry'; विदित्वा 'having known,' विदित्वाति 'he wishes to know'; गृहीत्वा (VI. 1. 16). 'having taken,' जिघृच्छति 'he wishes to take'; मुषित्वा 'having stolen,' मुषित्वाति 'he wishes to steal'; सुप्त्वा (VI. 1. 15) 'having slept,' सुषुप्सति 'he wishes to sleep,' पृष्ट्वा (VI. 1. 16) 'having asked,' विप्रृच्छति 'he wishes to ask'. The verb मद् is changed into गृह्, स्वप् into सुप्, प्रच्छ् into पृच्छ before *kit* affixes by samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 16).

The *ktvā* and *san* would have been *optionally kit* after the verb रुद्, विद् and मुप् by virtue of Rule 26 of this chapter, but this sūtra makes them *necessarily* so, after these three verbs. In the case of the verb मद्, these affixes are *kit* by virtue of this sūtra only. In the case of the verbs स्वप् and प्रच्छ् the affix क्त्वा is of course *kit*, because these two verbs are anit, that is, they do not take the intermediate इ; and therefore the क्त्वा being directly affixed to them, and rule 18 not applying, the indicatory *k* would make it *kit*. In reference to these verbs, therefore, the present sūtra teaches something new, only with regard to the affix सन्, by making that also *kit*. The verb प्रच्छ् takes the intermediate इ when the affix सन् follows, by virtue of sūtra VII. 2. 75.

इको ऋल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इक् : , ऋल् ( सन् , कित् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्ताद्धातोः परो झलादिः सन् किञ्चति ॥

9. The affix *san* beginning with a letter of the *Pratyāhāra jhal* is like *kit*, after verbs ending in *ik* vowels.

In this sūtra there is the *anuvṛitti* of सन् only and not of क्त्वा. The sūtra literally translated means:—"After *ik* the *jhal*." The *Pratyāhāra इक्* contains the four letters इ, उ, ऋ, लृ. The *Pratyāhāra झल्* contains all the consonants, except the nasals and the liquids. After the verbs ending in इक् the desiderative suffix सन् is *kit*, when it is झलादि, that is to say when the affix सन् does not take the intermediate इ. The affix सन् is an affix which begins with स् a letter of the झल् class. But if the intermediate इ is added before it, it is no longer a झलादि affix, and in that case it is not कित्. Thus from जि 'to conquer' which is a verb ending in इक्, we have जिगीषति 'he wishes to conquer' यु 'to mix' युयुषति; so also कृ 'to do,' चिकीर्षति वृ 'to cross' तितीर्षति, भू 'to be' भूषति.

If however, verbs ending in इ or उ or ऋ or लृ, take an intermediate इ, they likewise take guṇa. As:—स्मि 'to smile' takes guṇa, and makes its desiderative सिस्मिषति.



The झनादि सन् is not *kit* after verbs ending in any other letter than the इक्. As पिपासति (from पा) 'he wishes to drink.' So from स्या, we have तिष्ठासति.

The object of making the affix सन् *kit* affix after verbs ending in *ik* vowels, is to prevent the guṇa of the vowel of the root, as in चिन्त्रीषति 'wishes to collect' वृद्धाति 'wishes to praise.' To this it might be objected "this cannot be : for rule VI. 4. 16 (when सन् beginning with a *jhal i. e.*, not preceded by the augment इद् follows, a long vowel is the substitute of verbs ending in a vowel, and of the verbs हन् and गन्) would prevent guṇa by substituting long vowel." To this it may be replied "if rule VI. 4. 16, enjoining long vowel, debars rule VII. 3. 84 requiring guṇa, it should *a fortiori* debar rule VI. 4. 51 which requires the elision of the affix णि before Ardha-dhātuka affixes not taking the augment इद्. But evidently that is not so; for the elision of णि is not debarred by VI. 4. 16. Therefore, the present sūtra is made, so that even by giving scope to the rule of lengthening, the affix सन् be treated as कित्." Thus in चिन्त्रीषति scope is given to rule VI. 4. 16, and the vowel is lengthened. But this rule in its turn will be debarred in those cases where rule VI. 4. 51 will apply : in such cases the maxim contained in I. 4. 2 is our guide, and a subsequent rule will debar a prior rule of Pāṇini when both find their scope in a single case. Thus in forming the desiderative of the verb ज्ञप् 'to inform,' both the rules VI. 4. 16 and VI. 4. 51 present themselves, but the latter prevails. The verb ज्ञप् belongs to the churādi class of verbs, and takes the affix णिच्. Thus ज्ञप् + णिच् + सन् + तिप्; here the present sūtra comes into force, and सन् being treated as कित्, the guṇa of the इ of ज्ञिपि is prevented. Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 requiring guṇa being set aside, sūtra VI. 4. 51 comes into play, and causes the elision of णिच् and we have ज्ञप् + स + ति = ज्ञिप्सति (VII. 4. 55 आ changed to ई) 'he wishes to inform.'

हलन्ताच्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्तात्, च, ( इक्, सन्, ऋल्, कित् ) ॥

वृत्तिः १ इगन्तादिक्रसमीपाद्धलः परः सन् झनादिः कित्भवति ॥

10. And after a root ending in a consonant, and preceded by a vowel of the *pratyādhara ik*, the affix *san* beginning with a *jhal* consonant, is like *kit*.

Thus from भिद् 'to pierce' we have बिभिस्सति 'he wishes to break,' here the root भिद् contains the *ik* vowel इ; it ends in a consonant द्; the affix सन् is directly added without taking an intermediate इ, and therefore it fulfills all the conditions of the sūtra; and the vowel is not gunated.

If the final consonant of the verb is not preceded by a vowel of the *ik* class, the affix सन् is not *kit* after such a verb. As वञ् + सन् + ते = विद्यक्षते 'wishes to sacrifice.' Had the affix सन् been here a *kit* affix, there would have been samprasâraṇa by rule VI. 1. 16 which declares that there is samprasâraṇa of the verbs वञ्, स्वप्, and यञ्, &c., before *kit* affixes.

If the *san* takes the intermediate इ and is then no longer a झल्लादि सन्, it is not *kit*; and causes gunation *etcetera*, As इन् + इ + सन् = विवर्तिषते 'he desires to be.' Here there is *guṇa* of *ri*.

Roots like इम्, ळ्ह् &c., are governed by this rule, though they end in conjunct consonants, for the word इत् of the sūtra means *jḍiti* or class; thus इम् + सन् + तिप् = इम् + सति (VI. 4. 24 the *m* being elided by treating सन् as कित्) = धीप्सति or धिप्सति (VII. 4. 56).

लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्सिचौ, आत्मनेपदेषु ( झलत्तात् इक् ऋल् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तादिक्समीपाद्भनः परो झलादी लिङ्सिचौ आत्मनेपदेषु परतः कितौ भवतः ॥

11. After roots ending in a consonant, that adjoins a vowel of *ik* pratyâhâra, the substitutes of *lin* (III. 3. 161) and *sich* (III. 1. 44) when they begin with a consonant of *jhal* pratyâhâra, are *kit*; when the *âtmanepada* affixes follow.

The sūtra consists of two words लिङ्सिचौ and आत्मनेपदेषु, literally meaning "the affixes *lin* and *sich* in the *Atmanepada*." The other phrases, given in the above text must be supplied from the previous sūtras, to complete the sense. The *anuvṛtiti* of the word सन्, that began with sūtra 8. does not extend further. As:—भिस्सीट 'may he break' and भुस्सीट 'may he know,' अभिन्न 'he broke' अबुद्ध 'he knew.'

Thus the root भिद् ends with a simple consonant, is preceded by इ a letter of *ik* pratyâhâra; after this root the *jhalâdi* affix सीट of *Benedictive* in the *Atmanepada* is treated like कित्; therefore there is no *guṇa* substitution of the vowel of the root before this affix. भिद् + सीट = भिस्सीट. Similarly in the *Aorist* we have अभिन्न = अ + भिद् + सिच् + त, the च of *Aorist* being elided by VIII. 2. 26. So also बुद् + सीट = भुन् + सीट (VIII. 2. 37) = भुस्सीट.

If the final consonant is not preceded by an *ik* vowel, this rule will not apply. Thus Ben. यञ् + सीट = यप् + सीट (VIII. 2. 36) = यक् + सीट (VIII. 2. 41) = यच्सीट (VIII. 3. 58). Similarly its *Aorist* is अयट. Had the affixes सीट and त been *kit*, they would have caused samprasâraṇa of य by VI. 1. 16.

This rule will not apply, if the Benedictive and Aorist affixes are Parasmaipadi. Thus the Aorist of चञ् 'to let off,' is अ + चञ् + सीत् = अ + च् + अ + ञ् + सीत् (VI. 1. 58) = अलञ् + सीत् (VI. 1. 77) = अलाञ्सीत् (VII. 2. 1). Similarly from वृष् we have Aorist Parasmaipadi अलाञ्सीत्. Had the Aorist been कित्, rule VI. 1. 58 (अञ् is the augment of the verbs चञ् and वृष् when an affix beginning with a *jhal* and not having an indicatory क् follows), would not have applied.

This rule will also not apply, if the verb ends in a vowel. Thus of the verb चि, we have Ben. चेपीट, Aor. अचेट. Had the affixes been कित्, there would have been no *guṇa* substitution of *i* into *e*.

The rule will not apply if these affixes are not *jhalādi* but take the augment इट्. Thus Ben. वृन् + इपीट = वरिपीट, so also Aorist अवरिट्. Had they been कित्, there would have been no *guṇa* substitution.

This rule, of course, is confined to the Benedictive and the Aorist. Other tenses will not be affected by this rule. Thus the 1st and 2nd Future of विष् is वेषा and वेष्यति.

उद्य ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, च, ( लिङ्सिचौ आत्मनेपदेषु ऋल् कित् )

वृत्तिः ॥ सरवर्णान्ताद्वातोः परौ लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु सञ्जारी कितौ भवतः ॥

12. And after verbs ending in च्, the substitutes of *liṅ* and the affix *sich*, are *kit*, when they begin with *jhal*, and the Atmanepada affixes follow.

As from कृ 'to do' the benedictive is कृपीट 'may he do.' So also सिष्, as अकृत 'he did.' So also इपीट and अइट.

Of course this rule would not apply if these terminations take the intermediate इ; as वृ + इपीट = वरिपीट 'may he choose,' (Benedictive); अ + वृ + इट = अवरिट् or अवरिट् 'he chose or covered,' the इ being lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

वा गमः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, गमः, ( लिङ्सिचौ, आत्मनेपदेषु ऋल् कित् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्धातोः परौ लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु सञ्जारी वा कितौ भवतः ॥

13. Optionally after the verb *gam*, the *liṅ* and *sich* beginning with *jhal* consonants, in the Atmanepada, are *kit*.

The verb गन् 'to go' is Atmanepadi after the preposition सन् by Rule I. 3. 29.

The result of its being *kit* is that the nasal is dropped in the Atmanepada, in forming the Aorist with सिञ्, and the Benedictive. Thus we have

the forms:—संगंसीट् or संगसीट् in the Benedictive ; and समगत or समगस्त in the *sich* Aorist. These forms are thus evolved:—

सम् + गम् + सीट् = सम् + ग + सीट् (VI. 4. 37) = संगंसीट् 'may he combine.' Here the nasal म् of गम् is elided by treating the affix सीट् as कित् by Rule VI. 4. 37. In the alternative we have संगंसीट्.

So in the aorist सम् + गम् + सिच् + त् = सम् + अद् + गम् + त् (VI. 4. 37) = समगत. The सिच् being elided by VIII. 2. 27 (after a short inflective base, there is elision of सिच्, if a *jhal* follows). So when म् of गम् is elided by VI. 4. 37, there remains only ग which is a base ending in short अ, hence, the elision of सिच्. But in the alternative we have समगस्त.

हन्ः सिच् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्ः , सिच् । ( कित् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोः परः सिच् कित्त्विति ॥

14. The *sich* Atmanepada affixes are *kit* after the root *han* 'to kill.'

As आहत, आहसाताम्, आहसत are the aorist of हन्. When a सिच् or second aorist is *kit* the verb loses its nasal, by Rule VI. 4. 37. After the verb हन् the सिच् is only *kit* and not the Benedictive लिङ् terminations, as was the case in the previous sūtra; hence the repetition of the word *sich* in this sūtra. The sūtras 12, and 13 were governed both by लिङ् and सिच्; from and after this sūtra, the governing power of लिङ् ceases. The governing power of the word "Atmanepada" in sūtra 11 does not however cease, and its anuvṛitti runs through the succeeding sūtras; though as regards this sūtra, its anuvṛitti is redundant, inasmuch as before the Parasmaipada terminations, the root हन् is always replaced by वध् in the aorist, there is no necessity of making the affix *sich* a *kit*. For the object served in making *sich*, *kit*, after the verb हन्, is to elide the nasal, while in the case of वध्, no such purpose can be served.

यमो गन्धने ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः , गन्धने, ( सिच् आत्मने-पदेषु कित् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमोर्धातोर्गन्धने वसंयानात्परः सिच् प्रत्ययः कित् भवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

15. The affix *sich* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after the verb *yam*, when meaning 'to divulge.'

The word *gandhana* means 'to divulge,' 'to make known that which had been concealed.' The verb यम् has various meanings.

The result of *kit* is that the nasal is elided. The verb यम् becomes Atmanepada when preceded by the preposition आह् by rule I. 3. 28. Thus उद् + आ + यम् + त् = उदायत् = 'he divulged,' उदायसाताम्, उदायसत, the *sich* is elided by VIII. 2. 27 and म् by VI. 4. 37. When the verb यम् has any other meaning than 'to divulge,' then the सिच् in the Atmanepada is not *kit*; as उदायंस्त पादम् 'he raised the foot.' So also उदायंस्त कृपायुदकम् 'he raised water from the

well.' Though here the verb *yam*, is in the transitive form and takes an object after it, yet it is Atmanepadi by Rule I. 3. 75 which declares "after the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by यन्, इत् and आद् when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed."

विभाषोपयमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा , उपयमने , (यमः सिच् आत्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमेर्धातोरुपयमने वर्त्तमानात् परः सिच् प्रत्ययो विभाषा किञ्चवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

16. The *sich* before *âtmanepada* affixes is *kit* optionally, when *yam* means 'to espouse.'

Thus उपायत कन्याम् or उपायंस्त कन्याम् 'he espoused the girl,' उपायत or उपायंस्त भार्याम् 'he espoused his wife.'

The word 'Upayamana' in the sūtra means 'to accept in marriage,' 'to espouse.' The verb यन् preceded by the preposition उप is Atmanepadi when it means 'to espouse' by Rule I. 3. 56.

स्याध्वेरिच्च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्या, ध्वेः, इत्, च (सिञ्जात्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठतेर्धातोः घुसंज्ञकानाम् इकारधान्तादेशः सिञ्च किञ्चवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

17. The affix *sich* before *Atmanepada* affixes, is *kit* after *sthā* "to stand" and *ghu* (I. 1. 20) verbs, and these verbs change their आ into इ before these terminations.

The roots स्या 'to stand,' दा 'to give,' धा 'to place' हे 'to pity' जे 'to feed' शे 'to cut' change their vowels into इ before the terminations of the Aorist of the *Atmanepada*; and those terminations are also *kit*. As उपास्तियत, 'he worshipped' उपास्तियतात्, उपास्तियत; अदित 'he gave' अधित 'he fed.'

न द्या सेद् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, द्या, सेद्, ( कित् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुामप्रत्ययः सेप्त्न किञ्चवति ॥

18. The affix *ktvd* when it takes the augment इद् (*i. e.* when it is set) is not *kit*.

We had had occasion to refer to this sūtra in explaining sūtra 7. The affix *ktvd* (the actual affix being *tvd*, the *k* being merely *it* or indicatory letter) is on the face of it a *kit* affix. This sūtra however limits its kitness to cases where it is not *set*. If it is *set* *i. e.*, has before it the intermediate इ it will not be treated like a *kit* affix. Thus in कृत्वा, हृत्वा, the affix स्वा is added directly to the root कृ 'to do' and हृ 'to sacrifice,' without an intermediate इ and therefore the root has not been gunated, the affix here being *kit*. But in

स्वेदित्वा, हेवित्वा, वर्तित्वा, from स्विद्, विद् and वृद् 'to sweat,' 'to shine,' 'to be,' the affix is not *kit*, because there is an intermediate इ before स्वा and the root has been consequently gunated.

Of course this sūtra relates to क्त्वा *ktivā* only. Other affixes though having an intermediate इ will be treated as *kit*, if they have an indicatory क्. Thus the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 94) by which feminine nouns are formed from roots is a क्तिन् affix. This affix when सेद्, will remain क्तिन्, as नि + मद् + इद् क्तिन् = नि + गृह् + इ + ति (VI. 1. 16) = निगृहीति: (VII. 2. 37). Here there is samprasāraṇa by treating *ktivā* as *kit*. So also in इपस्तिहिति: and निकृषिति: there is no guṇa. After मद् &c., the affix क्तिन् takes the augment इद् by a Vārtika under sūtra VII. 2. 9 which see.

निष्ठा शीङ्-स्विदि-मिदि-षिवदि-धृयः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा,  
शीङ्-स्विदि-मिदि-षिवदि-धृयः (न, सेद्, कित् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीङ् स्विदि मिदि ष्विदि धृष् इत्येतेभ्यः परो निष्ठा प्रत्ययः सेप्त्न किञ्चनति ॥

19. The set Nishṭhā affixes are not *kit* after the verbs śī 'to lie down,' *svīd* 'to sweat,' *mid* 'to melt,' *kshvid* 'to be unctuous,' and *dhrish* 'to offend.'

The Nishṭhās are *nta* and *ktavatu* (see sūtra 26, Chapter I). They are obviously *kit* affixes. But in the case of the above five roots they are not *kit*, and the vowels take guṇa. Thus शयितः slept, शयितवान्, प्रस्वेदितः, प्रमेदितः, प्रक्ष्वेदितः; प्रस्वेदितवान्, प्रमेदितवान्, प्रक्ष्वेदितवान्, प्रधर्षितः, प्रधर्षितवान् &c. In all the above roots the *Nishṭha* affixes are also *set*.

The roots स्विद् ( अश्विवा ), मिद् ( अमिवा ), क्षिद् ( अक्षिवा ) and धृष् ( अिधृषा ) have all long स्वा as indicatory, as well as the syllable अि. These roots therefore by Rule VII. 2. 16 are generally *anit*, and consequently beyond the scope of the operation of the present sūtra. As स्विन्नः, स्विन्नवान्. But when the Nishṭhā affixes denote 'a state or condition, bhāva,' or 'beginning of action,' then the above four roots optionally become *set*. (VII. 2. 17) It is in that case that the present sūtra is applicable to them.

सृषस्तितिक्षायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ सृषः, तितिक्षायाम् ( निष्ठा  
सेद् न कित् ) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ सृषेर्धातोः तितिक्षायामर्थेनिष्ठासेप्त्न किञ्चनति ॥

20. The set Nishṭhā is not *kit* after the verb *mṛish* when meaning 'to forbear.'

Thus धर्षितः 'forborne' धर्षितवान् 'forbore.'

Why do we say 'when meaning to forbear?' When it has not this sense, the set nishṭhā will be कित्. As अपमृषितं वाक्यमाह 'he spoke unintelligible language.'

उदुपधाद्वादादिकर्मधोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥२१॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-उपधात्,  
भाय-आदि-कर्मधोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ( निष्ठासेण् कित् ) ॥

शक्तिः ॥ उदुपधाद्वातोः परो भावे आदिकर्मणि च वर्त्तमानो निष्ठाप्रत्ययः सेडन्वतरस्यां न  
किङ्कवति ॥

21. The séṭ Nishṭhâ is optionally not *kit*, after the verbs with a penultimate ङ if used impersonally or denoting the beginning of action.

According to some the séṭ Nishṭhâ suffixes are not *kit* after the verbs having a penultimate ङ if those verbs are used impersonally (bhâva) or denote the beginning of action (âdi-karman). Thus द्युत् 'to shine' द्युतितमनेन or द्योतितमनेन 'it has been lighted.' Similarly प्रद्योतितः or प्रद्युतितः 'he first illumined.' The word penultimate or *upadhâ* has been defined in sūtra 65 ante.

If the verb has any other vowel than ङ as penultimate, then the rule does not apply. As लिखितमनेन 'written by him.' Here इ is penultimate; and therefore no option is allowed.

This rule has no application where the Nishṭhâ does not express either भाव 'condition' or 'Impersonal action'; or आदिकर्म 'beginning of action' but is used as a verbal adjective. As रुषितं कार्षापणं इति 'he gives a shining coin (called kârshâpana).' Here the word रुषित 'shining' is used as adjective.

The rule applies to the Nishṭhâ which takes the intermediate इ and not to others as प्रभुक्तं अन्नः 'the rice that has been eaten.' Here no option is allowed.

This optional form of past participle is restricted in its scope. Those verbs which take the vikarâṇa शप् i. e. the verbs of the *Bhu* class &c., admit of this option. Thus गुप् 'to wrap up' belongs to Divâdi class, and therefore, its participle has one form only as गुषितं.

पूङः क्त्वा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङः, क्त्वा, च ( सेट्, कित्, न  
निष्ठा ) ॥

शक्तिः ॥ पूङः परो निष्ठा प्रत्ययः क्त्वा च सेण् न किङ्कवति ॥

22. The séṭ Nishṭhâ and the séṭ *ktivâ* are not *kit* after the verb पुं 'to purify.'

The word 'optionally' of the previous sūtra 21 does not govern this sūtra, because the word 'optionally' has been again used in the next sūtra 23; of which there would have been no necessity, had the word 'optionally' governing force in this sūtra, for then this would have also governed the next sūtra. The *anuvṛitti* of न सेट् however is to be read in this sūtra.

By rule VII. 2. 51 after the verb क् the affixes Nishṭhā and क्त्वा take the intermediate इ. So that क्त्वा क्त्वा being सङ् (by virtue of Rule VII. 2. 51) would have been non-kit by Rule 18; and it might be asked what is the necessity of repeating it in this sūtra: when sūtra 18 comprised the case. The reason of this repetition is that by mentioning क्त्वा क्त्वा in this sūtra, it has governing force over the succeeding sūtras. As पवित्रः, पवित्रवान्.

नोपधात् यफान्ताद्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उपधात्-य-फ-अन्तात्-  
वा (क्त्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारोपधाद्वातोस्यकारान्तात्कारान्ताच्च परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट्वा न कित्भवति ॥

23. The séṭ kṭvā is optionally kit, after the verbs having a penultimate न् and ending in य् and ङ्.

The séṭ kṭvā may or may not be kit after the verbs ending in य् or ङ् preceded by a nasal. The result of being kit will be that nasal will be dropped. In other words the dropping of the nasal is optional in such verbs. Thus from मंथ् we have मथित्वा or मन्यित्वा 'having twisted,' गुंफित्वा or गुंफित्वा 'having tied round' भ्रथित्वा or भ्रन्यित्वा.

The word "Nishṭhā" does not govern this sūtra, and comes to an end with the last sūtra.

This rule does not apply to verbs that have not a penultimate न् though they may end in य् or ङ्. As रेफित्वा 'having reviled' गोफित्वा 'having tied.' Here by rule 18, the त्वा tvā being non-kit, the vowels of the root रिङ्, and गुङ् have been gunated.

A verb may have a penultimate न्, but if it has not final य् or ङ्, the rule does not apply. As वंसि + इत्वा = वंसित्वा 'having dropped' भंसित्वा 'having killed.' Had it been kit, the nasal would have been dropped.

वञ्जिलुञ्ज्यतश्च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वञ्जि-लुञ्जि-ञ्च-ऋतः, च, (क्त्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्जि लुञ्जि ऋत् इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट्वा न कित्भवति ॥

24. The séṭ kṭvā is optionally kit, after the verbs vañch, 'to cheat' luñch 'to pluck' and řit 'to dare or abhor.'

After the above three verbs, the kṭvā affix being séṭ, may or may not be kit. As वञ्चित्वा or वञ्चित्वा 'having cheated.' So also लुञ्चित्वा or लुञ्चित्वा 'having plucked' ऋतित्वा or ऋतित्वा 'having dared.'

When the verb ऋत् řit takes the affix ईयद् it is not governed by this sūtra. See sūtra III. 1. 29.



When the *ktivā* is not *set*, but *anit*, then there is no option allowed.  
As वच् + क्त्वा = वक्तवा.

तृपिन्तृपिकृशोः काश्यपस्य ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृपि-सृपि-कृशोः,  
काश्यपस्य, ( ह्या सेट् न कित् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृपि सृपि कृपि इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट् कारयपस्याचार्यस्य मते वा न  
किञ्चनति ॥

25. The *set* *ktivā* is optionally *kit*, according to the opinion of Rishi Kāśyapa, after the verbs *trish* 'to be thirsty,' *mṛish* 'to sprinkle,' and *kṛish* 'to become lean.'

As *hrishva* or *mrishva* 'having thirsted,' *sṛishva* or *mṛishva* 'having sprinkled,' *kṛishva* or *mṛishva* 'having become lean.' By sūtra 18, the *set* *ktivā* is never *kit*. This sūtra adds another exception to that general rule.

The special mention of Kāśyapa is for the sake of showing respect. The वा is already understood in this sūtra by Anuvṛitti from sūtra 23.

रलो व्युपधाद्गुणः संञ्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रलः, उ- इ-उपधाद्,  
एल्-आदेः, सन्, च ( चासेट् कित् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारोपधादिकारोपधाद्यथातो रलन्ताद्गुणः परः संञ्च क्त्वा सेटो वा कित्तौ  
भवतः ॥

26. After a verb which begins with a consonant, and ends in a letter of *Ral pratyāhāra*, and has as its penultimate *ṛ* or *ṛi*, *ṛ* or *ṛ*, the *ktivā* and *san* affixes are optionally *kit*.

The wording of this sūtra requires a little explanation. It consists of the following words:—

1. रलः *ralah*, ablative of रल् (after the consonants included in the *Pratyāhāra ral* i. e., all the consonants except *ṛ* *y* and *ṛ* *v*):—Verbs having their final letter any single consonant except *ṛ* *y* or *ṛ* *v*.

2. व्युपधात् means "after penultimate वी." It is a compound of वी + उपधा. The वी itself is a compound of उ + इ = वि, in the dual वी. Therefore the phrase means "after (verbs) having for their penultimate either *ṛ* *i* or *ṛ* *u* long or short."

3. हलादेः means "beginning with a consonant."

All these three words qualify the word "verb" understood.

4. संञ्च means "and san."

The sūtra means, those verbs which have a रल् letter in the end, a हल् in the beginning, and an *ṛ*, *ṛi* or *ṛ*, *ṛ* in their penultimate, may optionally treat the affixes *ktivā* and *san* as कित्.

Thus ह्युत् 'to shine,' makes ह्युत्सिवा or षोत्सिवा 'having shone,' लिख् 'to write' makes लिखिस्वा or लेखिस्वा.

Similarly in *san* affix we have लिखिषति or लिखेषति 'he-wishes to write' दिद्युतिषते or दिद्योतिषते 'he wishes to shine.'

The rule does not apply if the verb ends in a letter other than रन् . As दि + क्ता = देविस्वा ; its desiderative will be दिदेविषति. No option is allowed here.

Similarly there is no option when the penultimate vowel is not इ or उ . As वृत् + क्ता = वर्तिस्वा. Des. विवर्तिषते .

The rule also does not apply if the verb does not begin with a consonant. As एषिस्वा and एषिषति. There is no option allowed here.

The rule does not apply if the क्ता and सन् are *aniti*. As भुक्ता, वृक्षते. In these 26 sūtras the description of affixes which are treated like क्तिन् and क्तिन् is comprised.

ऊकालोऽञ् ह्रस्वदीर्घसुतः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊ-कालः अच्, ह्रस्व-दीर्घ-सुतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊ ऊ ऊ ३ इत्येवं कालोऽञ् यथाक्रमं ह्रस्वदीर्घसुत इत्येवं संज्ञो भवति ॥

27. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *ū* and the prolated *u*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dirgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

The उ *u* having one mātrā or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is pluta. This sūtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their mātrā. The letter ऊ *ū* has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase ह्रस्वदीर्घसुतः is a Dvandva compound, in the Singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the general rule II. 4. 17.

The word *kāla* means measure of time required for pronouncing a vowel.

As इधि 'curd' मधु 'honey' here इ and उ are short. कुमारी, गौरी, here ई is long. देवदत्ताः अन्नास Devadatta ! Here आ *a* is pluta or prolated.

These words are used in the following sutras I. 2. 47, VII. 4. 25. VIII. 2. 82.

अचञ्च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, च, ( ह्रस्व दीर्घ सुतः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्व दीर्घ सुतः स्वसंज्ञायाश्चिष्यमाणा अचएवस्थाने वेदितव्याः ॥

28. The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

This is a paribhāshā sūtra, and declares the object to which the terms 'short,' 'long' and 'prolated' are to be applied. When in this book 'short'

'long' or 'prolated' are taught by using the words *hrasva*, *dīrgha* or *pluta*, they must be understood to apply to vowels. As will be found in the sūtra I. 2. 47. <sup>1</sup> "there is the substitution of *hrasva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'vowel' must be inserted in this sūtra to complete the sense. That is:—the *hrasva* is substituted for the final *vowel* of the crude-form. As ऐ अतिरि, नौ अतिनु, गो उपगु .

The substitution must take the place of vowel and not consonant.

As सुवाग् ब्राह्मणकुलम् .

Similarly sūtra VII. 4. 25 <sup>2</sup> teaches "There is the substitution of *dīrgha* or 'long vowel' before all affixes beginning with the letter च्, except *krīṭ* and *Sārvadhātuka* affixes." Here also the word 'vowel' must be read into the sūtra, which will then be "of an inflective base ending in a vowel, the long vowel shall be the substitute &c." As चि + यद् + ते = चीयते 'it is collected'; श्रु + य + ते = श्रुयते 'it is heard'. Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must take place in the room of a vowel and not of a consonant. As भिद् + य + ते = भियते 'it is divided,' छिद्यते 'it is pierced'.

So also in the case of *pluta* substitution. Thus rules VIII. 2. 82 and 84, <sup>3</sup> declare that in calling from a distance, *pluta* is substituted for the टि portion of the word in the vocative. (The word टि is defined in I. 1. 64). Here also the phrase 'of the vowel' must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The sūtra will then read:—"*Pluta* is substituted in the place of the vowel of the टि &c." Thus देवदत्तः, O Devadatta! यज्ञदत्तः O Yajñadatta!

Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must be in the place of the vowel of the टि and not of the consonant. As अग्निचिश्त्, सोमसुश्त्. Here the syllables इन् and उन् are टि, and the vowels इ and उ have been prolated and not the consonant च्.

The substitution must be enunciated as such by using the terms, *hrasva*, *dīrgha*, and *pluta*. Therefore it is not so here; द्यौः; पन्याः; सः; युम्बान् द्युभिः ॥ See I. 1. 4.

उच्चैरुदात्तः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैः, उदात्तः, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्चैरुपलभ्यमानो योअच् स उदात्तसंज्ञो भवति ॥

29. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udātta* or acutely accented.

With this sūtra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is called *udātta* or *acute* accent. As अग्निः *agnih*, here *i* has the acute accent. The *udātta* is not marked

(<sup>1</sup>) इत्सो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकत्व ॥ (<sup>2</sup>) अकृत्स्नार्धानुकयोर्दधिः ॥ (<sup>3</sup>) वाक्यत्वदेः पुल्ल उदात्तः ॥ दूराद्धते च ॥

in writing. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and profane literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udātta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate &c., if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udātta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone, as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent. The word is used in sūtra III. 1. 3. <sup>1</sup> "the first vowel of an affix has the udātta accent." As कृ + तव्यम् = कर्तव्यम् kartavyam.

नीचैरनुदात्तः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नीचैः, अनुदात्तः, ( अच् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नीचैरुपलभ्यमानो योऽच् सोऽनुदात्तसंज्ञो भवति ॥

30. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called *Anudātta* or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sūtra. As अग्निः agniḥ, here अ has the grave accent. The vowel accent known as grave or anudātta is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the anudātta is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the grave accent.

This word is used in sūtra III. 1. 4. <sup>2</sup> "The case terminations called सुप् and those affixes that have an indicatory प् are anudātta" &c. As त्रयः, बोधानि.

In pronouncing an anudātta vowel, there is slackening of the organs, and mildness, as well as softness and sweetness of tone: while there is expansion and widening of the larynx.

समाहारः स्वरितः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समाहारः, स्वरितः (अचः, उदात्तः, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरसमाहारो योऽच् स स्वरितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

31. The vowel that has the combination of *Udātta* and *Anudātta* tones is said to be *svarita* or circumflexly accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood here also. The svarita or circumflexed accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice. It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter.

The word is used in sūtra VI. 1. 185. <sup>3</sup> "The affixes having an indicatory त् have svarita accent." As कन्यां kanyā शिष्यम् śiṣyam, क्व kvā.

(<sup>1</sup>) आद्युदात्तश्च ॥ (<sup>2</sup>) अनुदात्तो सुप्ति ॥ (<sup>3</sup>) तिरस्वरितम् ॥

This sūtra is not to be understood to mean that a *svarita* is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an udātta vowel with an anudātta vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as *acute* and *grave* accents.

तस्यादित उदात्तमर्द्धलुखम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, आदितः ,  
उदात्तम्, अर्द्ध-लुखम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य स्वारितस्य आसवर्द्धस्वमुदात्तम् भवति ॥

32. Of it (*svarita*) the first portion is *udātta*, to the extent of a half measure, or prosodial length.

It has been defined that *svarita* accent is a combination of *udātta* and *anudātta*. It remained doubtful what portion was *acute* and what *grave*. The present sūtra clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in *svarita*, the first half is *acute* and the other *grave*.

The phrase *ardhahrasva* is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is *svarita*, its *mātrā* being one, half will be *udātta* and the other half *anudātta*. If a long vowel, whose *mātrās* are two, be *svarita*, then  $\frac{1}{2}$  will be *udātta*,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  will be *anudātta*. If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svarita*, then first half measure will be *udātta*, and the remaining  $2\frac{1}{2}$  measures will be *anudātta*. In short, the *udātta* portion of a *svarita* must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in शिक्यम् śikyam the *a* is *svarita*, half being *acute*, the other half, *grave* or *monotony*; in कन्या kanya, the long *ā* is *svarita*, its first half measure is *acute*, the remaining  $1\frac{1}{2}$  is *grave*; in मानवका ३ manavakā, here *a* prolated is *svarita*, its first  $\frac{1}{2}$  is *acute*, the balance  $2\frac{1}{2}$  measure is *grave*.

एकश्रुतिदूरात्सम्बुद्धौ ॥३३॥ पदानि ॥ एकश्रुति, दूरात्, सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकश्रुति वाक्यं भवति दूरात्सम्बुद्धौ वृत्ति ॥

33. In addressing a person from a distance, the tone is called *Ekaśruti* or *monotony*.

*Monotony* or *Ekaśruti* is that tone which is perceived when a person is addressed; in it there is an absence of all the three tones mentioned above; and there is no definite pitch in it. It is, therefore, the ordinary recitative tone.

The word 'Sambuddhi' means here addressing a person from a distance; and has not its technical meaning of the singular number of the vocative case. As आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ता ३ 'O boy Devadatta! come.' There is vanishing of all the accents in the above case; and the final short vowel of Devadatta is changed into *pluta* by the rule already referred to in s. 28 ante (VIII. 2. 84 दूराद्भूते च) ॥

If the person is not addressed from a distance, then the word will get its proper accent. As आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्त 'come, O boy. Devadatta.'

यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्यूङ्खसामसु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञ-कर्मणि, अज-  
प-न्यूङ्ख-सामसु, ( एकश्रुतिः ) ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ जपन्यूङ्खसामानि वर्जयित्वा यज्ञकर्मणि मन्त्राणामेकश्रुत्यं भवति ॥

34. In sacrificial works, there is Monotony, except in *japa* (silent repetition of a formula), Nyûnkha vowels (sixteen sorts of om) and the *Sâma* vedas.

In "sacrificial works" or on occasions of sacrifice, the mantras of the Veda are recited in Ekaśruti or monotony. But on occasions of ordinary reading, the mantras are to be recited with their proper three-fold accents.

"Japa" is the repetition of mantras, and their recitation in a low voice or whisper. Nyûnkha is the name of certain hymns of the veda, and the names of 16 sorts of "Om." Some of these are pronounced with udâtta and others with anudâtta accent. Sâmas are songs, or the musical cadence in which some vedic hymns are to be uttered. As:—अग्निर्मृदादिवः कुरुस्वतिः पृथिव्या स्युयम् । अयाम् रेतोसि जिन्वतो ३ म् ॥ (Rig Veda VIII. 14. 16).

When a mantra is recited as a *japa*, then it must be pronounced with accents:—As ममाग्ने वर्चो विह्वेष्वस्तु (Rig Veda X. 128. 1).

When not employed on occasions of sacrifice, but are ordinarily read, the mantras must have their proper accent, and there will be no Ekaśruti.

In the *sâma* chanting, the mantras should have their accent, there can be no Ekaśruti there. As ए३ वि३र्वं समन्त्रिणं वहा३ . Here there is no Ekaśruti:

उच्चैस्तरां वा वषट्कारः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैस्तराम्, वा,  
वषट्कारः, ( यज्ञकर्मणि, एकश्रुतिः ) ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि वषट्कारः उच्चैस्तरां वा भवति एकश्रुतिर्वा ।

35. The pronunciation of the word *vashaṭ* may optionally be by raising the voice (accutely accented), or it may be pronounced with monotony.

The phrase "yajña-karma" is understood here. Even in *yajña-karmas* or sacrifices the word वौषट् may optionally be pronounced in a raised tone. The word वषट् in the sūtra signifies वौषट्. But why was not the word वौषट् used in the text, it could have been used with as much ease as वषट्? To this natural query, the only answer is, विचित्राः हि सूत्रस्व कृतिः पाणिनेः strange and wonderful is the structure of Paṇini's aphorisms. Thus सोमस्याग्ने वीही३ वी३ षट् or सोमस्याग्ने वीही३ वी३ षट् .

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (एकश्रुतिः)

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये विभाषा एकश्रुतिर्भवति पदान्तरे त्रैस्वर्यमेव भवति।

36. The Monotony is optional in the recitation of the Vedas, or they may be recited with accents.

In the Chhandas or the Vedas there is option either to use the Ekaśruti tone or the three tones. Even on the occasion of ordinary reading, the Chhandas might be uttered either with the three accents or monotonously. Some say this is a limited option (vyavasthita-vibhāṣā).

The option allowed by this sūtra is to be adjusted in this way. In reading the Mantra portion of the Veda, every word must be pronounced with its proper accent: but in the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Veda there might be Ekaśruti; while some say there must be Ekaśruti necessarily and not optionally in the recitation of the Brahmanas.

Thus:—अग्निमीने पुरोहितं or simply अग्निमीने पुरोहितं. "I praise Agni the purohita."

The word वा "optionally" of the last sūtra could easily have been read into this sūtra by the rule of *anuvṛitti*; why then use the word विभाषा "optional" again? To this we reply, this apparently redundant repetition is for the sake of indicating that the *anuvṛitti* of the word यत्कर्माणि, which was understood in the last sūtra, does not extend to this. Had we taken the *anuvṛitti* of वा, the other word also would have been attracted; hence the separate use of the word विभाषा.

न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्य तूदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, सुब्रह्म-  
ण्यायाम्, स्वरितस्य, तु, उदात्तः, ( एकश्रुतिः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुब्रह्मण्यायामेकश्रुतिर्भवति यस्तु लक्षणमात्रः स्वरितस्तस्योदात्त आदेशो भवति ॥

37. There should be no Monotony in the recitation of the Subrahmanya hymns and in those hymns, the vowels, that would otherwise have taken the svarita accent, take the *udāṭta* accent instead.

The subrahmanya hymns are portions of Rig Veda mentioned in śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

This sūtra prohibits Ekaśruti in the case of certain prayers called subrahmanya. By rule 34 read with 36 *ante*, prayers might be *optionally* uttered with Ekaśruti accent. This ordains an exception to that rule. In subrahmanya prayers there is no ekaśruti; and in these hymns, a vowel which otherwise by any rule of grammar would have taken a svarita accent, takes an udāṭta accent instead.

As सुब्रह्मण्यो ३ भिन्द्रागच्छ हरिवृ आगच्छ. Here the word सुब्रह्मण्य is formed by the addition of the affix यत् to the word सुब्रह्मन्, and this य will get *svarita*

accent by VI. 1. 185, ( तिस्वरितम् ) as it has an indicatory नृ; by the present sūtra, this nascent *svarita* is changed into *udatta*. In the phrase इन्द्र आगच्छ, the word Indra being in the vocative case, इ is *udatta*, the अ of Indra is *anudatta* VI. 1. 198 <sup>1</sup> The *anudatta* preceded by an *udatta* is changed into *svarita* (VIII. 4. 66) <sup>2</sup>.

Thus the अ of इन्द्र must become *svarita*, but by the present sūtra this nascent *svarita* is changed into an *udatta*. Thus in इन्द्र, both vowels become *udatta*. In the word आगच्छ, the आ is *udatta*; the next letter which was *anudatta* becomes *svarita*, and from *svarita* it is changed to *udatta* by the present rule. Thus in the sentence इन्द्र आगच्छ the first four syllables are all acutely accented, the fifth syllable is only *anudatta*. So also in हरिव आगच्छ, for the reasons given above, the letters व and च्छ are *anudatta*, the rest are all acutely accented.

देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तः ॥३८॥ पदानि ॥ देव-ब्रह्मणोः , अनुदात्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवब्रह्मणोः स्वरितस्यानुदात्त आदेशो भवति ॥

38. The word *devā* and *Brahmāṇa* in those hymns have *anudatta* accent,

By sūtra 37, it was declared, that in *subrahmanya* hymns, *svarita* accent is replaced by *udatta* accent. This sūtra makes an exception in favor of the words देवा and ब्रह्मण occurring in those hymns. These words have *anudatta* accent. As देवा ब्रह्मण आगच्छव 'come ye Devās and Brahmanās.' Here the word देवा gets *udatta* accent on the first syllable by rule VI. 1. 198. <sup>1</sup> (in the vocative the accent is on the beginning): वा *vā* has originally an *anudatta* accent which by rule VIII. 4. 66 <sup>2</sup> (an *anudatta* following an *udatta* is changed into *svarita*) would have been changed into *svarita*. This *svarita*, by the previous sūtra required to be changed into *udatta*; but by this rule, it is replaced by *anudatta*. In other words, the original *anudatta* remains unchanged.

स्वरितात्संहितायामनुदात्तानाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितात् ,  
संहितायाम् , अनुदात्तानाम् , ( एकश्रुतिः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायाम् विषये स्वरितात्परेषामनुदात्तानामेकश्रुतिर्भवति ॥

39. The *Monotony* takes the place of the *anudatta* vowels which follow the *svarita* vowels, in close proximity (*sanhitā*).

*Sanhitā* is the joining of two or more words in a sentence, for the purposes of reading or reciting. When words are thus glued together, then

(<sup>1</sup>) भागन्वितस्य च ॥ (<sup>2</sup>) उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥



the *anudatta* accents become Ekaśruti if they are preceded by *svarita* vowels; and are pronounced monotonously. As इमं मे' गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति (Rig Veda X. 75. 5) O Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati! this mine.

Here the word इमं has udatta on the last syllable: the word मे is originally *anudatta*, but by rule VIII. 4. 66 <sup>1</sup> following an *udatta*, it is changed into *svarita*; after this *svarita* all *anudatta* like गङ्गे, &c., are replaced by ekaśruti. All the vowels of the words गङ्गे यमुने &c., had *anudatta* accent by rule VIII. 1. 19 <sup>2</sup> (all vocatives get *anudatta* if standing in the middle of a sentence and not beginning a stanza.)

The word "sanhita" has been used in the sūtra to show that when there is a hiatus between the words then there is no change of *anudatta* into ekaśruti. The word *sanhita* will be defined in sūtra I. 4. 109 <sup>3</sup>.

उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त-स्वरित-परस्य, सन्नतरः, ( अनुदात्तानाम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तपरस्य स्वरितपरस्य चानुदात्तस्य सन्नतरश्चादेशो भवति ॥

40. The accent called *Sannatara* is substituted in the room of an *anudatta* vowel, which has an *udatta* or *svarita* vowel following it.

In the previous sūtra it was said that an *anudatta* preceded by a *svarita* becomes Ekaśruti. If however such an *anudatta* is followed by an *udatta* or a *svarita*, it does not become Ekaśruti but becomes *sannatara* i.e. lower than *anudatta*.

The *sannatara* is therefore that accent which was originally *anudatta*, and which is preceded by a *svarita* and is followed by an *udatta* or a *svarita*.

This is one explanation of the sūtra. There is another explanation which does not take the anuvṛitti of Ekaśruti in this sūtra. The *anudatta* is replaced by *sannatara* when such *anudatta* immediately precedes an *udatta* or a *svarita*. The *sannatara* is also called *anudatta*. As देवा मरुतः पुष्पिमातराः ॥

Here the word मातरः is *anudatta*. The word अयः has *udatta* on the last syllable by VI. 1. 171. <sup>4</sup> In the phrase मातराः (मातरः + अयः) The syllable ते is *anudatta*, because *anudatta* + *anudatta* = *anudatta*. This *anudatta* अो, preceding the *udatta* यः, is changed into *sannatara*.

अपृक्त एकाल्प्रत्ययः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपृक्तः, एक-अल्, प्रत्ययः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपृक्त इति संज्ञा भवति एकाल् यः प्रत्ययस्तस्य ॥

(<sup>1</sup>) उदात्तानुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥ (<sup>2</sup>) आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ (<sup>3</sup>) परः संनिकर्षः संहिता ॥ (<sup>4</sup>) उडिदम्पदाद्यत्पुत्रैश्चुभ्यः ॥

41. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprikta*.

This defines *Aprikta* affixes. They are those affixes which consist of only one letter of the alphabet. Thus the affix *न्* in *असेधीन्* is a one lettered suffix and is an *Aprikta*. Similarly the affix *क्विन्* *kvīn* is an *Aprikta*, because the letters *क्*, *इ*, and *न्* are merely indicatory, the real affix is *व्*. This *व्* being a single letter, and therefore an *Aprikta*, when added to a base, is elided by rule VI. 1. 67<sup>1</sup> (the *Aprikta* *व्* is elided). Thus घृतस्य् + क्विन् = घृतस्य्क् + व् (III. 2. 58)<sup>2</sup> = घृतस्य्क् ॥ अंशान् + पिव् = अंशान्क् 'co-sharer.' (III. 2. 62).<sup>3</sup> An affix which consists of more than one letter is not an *Aprikta*. As *दर्विः* 'a ladle' formed by the *Uṇādi* affix *विन्* (*वृह-भ्यां विन्*).

तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः,

समानाधिकरणः, कर्मधारयः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणपरः कर्मधारयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

42. A *Tat-purusha* compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhāraya* or *Appositional Determinative* compound.

[ "Karmadhāraya or Appositional Determinative compounds form a sub-division of the determinative compounds (*Tat-purusha*). In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in black-beetle, sky-blue." ] (Max Muller).

The compounds like *नीलोत्पलं* 'the blue lotus' *परमात्मा* 'the supreme spirit' &c. are examples of *karmadhāraya* compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (*samānādhikaraṇa*), whereas in other *Tat-purushas*, the preceding word is governed by the last."

As, *परमराज्यम्*, is a *karmadhāraya* compound meaning "the best Government." Had it not been a *karmadhāraya* compound, the *udatta* accent would have fallen on the syllable *रा* by rule VI. 2. 130,<sup>4</sup> (the word *राज्यम्* has *udatta* on the first syllable in *Tat-purusha* compounds, except in *karmadhāraya*).

Similarly *पाचिका + वृन्दारिका* = *पाचकवृन्दारिका*। (VI. 3. 42).<sup>5</sup> the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the *karmadhāraya*.

Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a *Tat-purusha* compound, it won't be *karmadhāraya*. As *पाचिका + भार्या* = *पाचिकाभार्या*. 'He who has a wife for a cook.' This is an example of a *Bahuvrihi* compound, and therefore the word *पाचिका* retains its gender sign.

(<sup>1</sup>) वेरपुक्तस्य ॥ (<sup>2</sup>) स्युषोऽनुदके क्विन् ॥ (<sup>3</sup>) भजो पिव् ॥ (<sup>4</sup>) अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ॥  
(<sup>5</sup>) पुंश्वकर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु ॥

A compound may be a Tat-purusha, but if its component parts do not refer to the same thing and are not in the same case, it won't be karmadhāraya:—ब्राह्मण राज्यम् *Brahmaṇa rājyam* 'a Brahmana kingdom.' Here राज्यम् gets udātta on the first syllable by the rule already mentioned (VI. 2. 130).

प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समासउपसर्जनम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमा-निर्दिष्टम्,  
समासे , उपसर्जनम् , ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमया विभक्त्या यन्निर्दिश्यते समासशास्त्रे तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवति ॥

43. In (this book, in the sūtras relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word.

This defines or rather describes the Upasarjana. In the sūtras referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called Upasarjanam.

Thus sūtra II. 1. 24 (द्वितीया श्रितातीत पतितगतत्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नेः) is a samāsa sūtra enjoining composition. In this sūtra the word द्वितीया is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sūtra means, "An accusative (द्वितीया) is compounded with the words श्रित, अतीत, पतित, गत, अत्यस्त, प्राप्त, and आपन्न and forms Tat-purusha." Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called Upasarjana. Thus कष्टं + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः. Here the word कष्टं being Upasarjana, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30. उपसर्जनपूर्वम्, (in a compound the Upasarjana should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of Instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative Tat-purusha, the words standing in those cases will be Upasarjana. Thus संकुजाखण्डः, यूपदारुः, वृकभयम्, रात्रपुरुषः, अक्षशीण्डः.

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called प्रधान or principal.

एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-विभक्ति , च ,  
अपूर्व-निपाते , ( उपसर्जनम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एका विभक्तिर्यस्य तद्विभक्त्येक विभक्ति, समासे विधीयमाने यन्मिथयविभक्तिकं द्वितीये सम्बन्धिनि बहुभिर्विभक्तिभिर्बुद्ध्यमानेष्येकयैवविभक्त्या बुद्ध्यते तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवति, अपूर्व-निपाते, पूर्वनिपातं पूर्वनिपाताख्यमुपसर्जनकार्यं वर्जयित्वा ॥

44. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound.

A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called *eka-vibhakti*, i.e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samāsa i.e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix; apūrva-nipāte, such a word will be an upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30) <sup>1</sup> which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions निः &c., when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. Ex निष्क्रान्तः + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिः. निष्क्रान्तं + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिम्, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिना. निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बये, निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बो.

Similarly the word निर्वाराणसिः ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारी in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राजः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी; राजः + कुमारीम् = राजकुमारीं; राजः + कुमार्या = राजकुमार्या, राजः + कुमार्ये = राजकुमार्ये.

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ई of री would have been shortened into इ as in the previous example.

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30) <sup>1</sup> can not stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as, कौशाम्बिनिः

अर्थवद्धातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थवत् ,

अधातुः , अप्रत्ययः , प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थवच्छब्दरूपं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं भवति धातुप्रत्ययो वर्जयित्वा ॥

45. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root (*dhātu*), or an affix (*pratyaya*) is called a *prātipadika* or crude-form.

This defines the word "prātipadika" or crude-form. The prātipadika is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (pada), from the undifferentiated ore called the dhātu or root. It is that part of a word which is capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word अर्थ means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called

(<sup>1</sup>) उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥

a pratipadika, as डित्यः 'a wooden elephant,' कवित्यः 'the wood-apple tree,' कुण्डन् 'a bowl,' पीठन् 'a seat'.

Why do we say "significant"? Of course it must have some meaning, thus of the word वनं, we cannot say that the portion वन् is prâtipadika; as it has no meaning, and had it been a prâtipadika, the final न् would have been dropped by Rule VIII. 2. 7<sup>1</sup> (the final न् of a pratipadika is dropped).

The word must not be a verb, as the word अहन् (the third person sing. number, Imperfect tense of हन्); he killed. Had it been a prâtipadika, the न् would have been dropped.

The word must not be an affix or ending in an affix:—as कुण्डे 'in the bowl.' Here the word ends in the affix इ of the locative case, and is consequently not a 'prâtipadika' or crude form, but a complete word. Had it been a prâtipadika, the ए would have been shortened into इ by rule 47 succeeding.

A nipâta or particle though not a significant form of a word, yet gets the designation of prâtipadika in the opinion of the author of the Mahâbhâshya. As अध्यागच्छति, प्रलम्बते .

कृतद्वितसमासाश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत-तद्वित-समासाः , च ,

( प्रातिपदिकम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतस्तद्धिताः समासाश्च प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

46. The forms ending in Kṛit affixes, or *Taddhita* affixes, or compound are also called *Prâtipadika*.

This further explains the use of the word prâtipadika. "Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, primary suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns; secondary suffixes. The former are called Kṛit, (III. 1. 93)<sup>2</sup> the latter *Taddhita* (IV. 1. 76).<sup>3</sup> Thus जन *jana*, man, is derived from the root जन् *jan* by the kṛit suffix अ; but जनीन *janīna*, appropriate for man, is derived from जन *jana* by the *Taddhita* affix ईन *īna*. The name prâtipadika would apply both to जन *jana* and जनीन *janīna*, as nominal bases ready to receive the terminations of declension" (Max Müller).

Of the compounds, of which there are six varieties, we had occasion to refer to five already *viz.*, Tat-purusha, Karmadhâraya, Dvandva, Bahuvrihi and Aavyayibhâva. They will be fully dealt with in their proper places.

In the last sūtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sūtra makes an important provision in favor of words ending in Kṛit or *Taddhita* affixes. So also compounds are also called prâtipadika. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

(<sup>1</sup>) नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥ (<sup>2</sup>) कृतविद् ॥ (<sup>3</sup>) तद्धिताः ॥

The words formed by kṛit affixes are prâtipadika अङ्, कृ (to do) + ष्वल् = कृ + वृ = कार् + अक = कारक. The affix ष्वल् is a kṛit affix, and it is added to the root to form agent by Rule III. 1. 133. <sup>1</sup> The letters ष् and ल् are indicative, the force of ष् being to cause the vṛiddhi of the vowel of the root. The real affix वृ is changed into अक by (VII. 1. 1 <sup>2</sup> the affixes वृ and वृ are replaced by अन and अक respectively), thus the form कारक is a prâtipadika, and is capable of declension by receiving case terminations, as, कारकः ॥ Similarly कृ + ष्वल् (III. 1. 133) <sup>1</sup> = कर्तृ; nom. case कर्ता.

The word formed by Taddhita affixes are also prâtipadika; उपगु + अप् = औपगो + अ = औपगव 'the son of the Rishi Upagu': nom. case औपगवः, similarly कापटवः.

In fact in the chapters treating of these affixes, the derivative substantives formed by them are always shown by the Indian Grammarians in the nominative case singular number. The examples of nouns given in this book will be always declined nouns and not prâtipadikas, except in peculiar cases. So also in the chapter of samâsa or compounds.

The words ending in compound are prâtipadika : as राज्ञः + पुरुषः = राजपुरुष, nom. case राजपुरुषः.

ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वः, नपुंसके, प्रातिपदिकस्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गेऽर्थे यत्प्रातिपदिकं वर्त्तते तस्य ह्रस्वो भवति आदेशोऽन्यस्याचः ॥

47. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a prâtipadika.

In the neuter gender, the prâtipadika that would have ended in a long vowel, changes it into short. Thus अति + रै = अतिरि 'extravagant' as अतिरि = कुलम् 'an extravagant family'; अति लो = अतिन्नु 'very hairy' अतिलु कुलं 'a very hairy family.'

There is no substitution of short vowel, if the noun is not in the neuter gender, as ग्राम + नी = ग्रामणी, nom. case ग्रामणीः 'the leader of a village or head-borough,' similarly सेनानीः 'the leader of an army.'

A word may be in the neuter gender, but if it is not a prâtipadika, the vowel is not shortened, as काण्डे तिष्ठतः 'two cantos remain.' Here the ए of काण्डे is formed by the coalescence of अ (of the prâtipadika काण्ड) and इ (the dual case termination); thus काण्ड + इ = काण्डे. Now it might be urged, that here one letter ए, replaces two letters अ and इ, therefore this substitute is equivalent to each of those letters separately, and consequently ए is the vowel of the prâtipadika and ought to be shortened. But this is not

(<sup>1</sup>) ष्वल् ष्वो ॥ (<sup>2</sup>) युवोरनाको ॥

to be so, because the word *prâtipadika* has been especially mentioned in the text, and therefore this *ekâdésâ* is not treated as the final of the form which precedes it.

गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-स्त्रियोः, उपसर्जनस्य,  
( प्रातिपदिकस्य ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनगोशब्दान्तस्य उरसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तस्य च प्रातिपदिकस्य ह्रस्वो भवति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ ईयसोबहुव्रीहिः प्रतिषेधावक्तव्यः ॥

48. A short vowel is the substitute of *prâtipadika* which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix; when regarded as *upasarjana*.

The word *upasarjana* has been defined in *sûtra* 43. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened when it stands last and is an *upasarjana*.

Thus चित्र + गो = चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow'. This is an example of a *Bahuvrihi* or possessive compound. So also श्वन्नगु 'a spotted cow'. Similarly in those *prâtipadika upasarjanas* which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः + कौशाम्बी = निष्कौशाम्बिः. Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाणसिः.

The word *prâtipadika* of the previous *sûtra* is understood in this. The word गो in the *sûtra* means the form गो and not other words synonym with it. The word स्त्री means "a word ending in a feminine affix," because it has the *svarita* accent. The word *upasarjana* qualifies both these words, *i. e.* when गो is an *upasarjana* and when a word having a feminine termination is an *upasarjana*.

Other examples are:—अति + खट्व = अतिखट्वः 'without a bedstead'  
अतिमालः 'surpassing a necklace in beauty'.

If such a word is not an *upasarjana*, there is no shortening, as राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राजन् is *upasarjana*, and not the word कुमारी, which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word *formed by the addition of an affix*, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore we have अतिलक्ष्मीः 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty' अतिश्रीः ॥

*Vart*:—In *Bahuvrihi* compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुभ्ययसी, विद्यमानभ्ययसी ।

लुक्त्तद्धितलुकि ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुक्, तद्धित-लुकि, ( स्त्री,  
उपसर्जनस्य ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितलुकि इति स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य उपसर्जनस्य लुग्भवति ।

49. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix of the upasarjana.

The word लुक् defined in sūtra 61 Chapter I, is twice used in this sūtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक्; there the feminine suffix of the prātipadika is also dropped, or becomes *luk*. Thus there are certain Taddhita suffixes by which patronymics are formed (one of them being अण्) from other nouns. Before this अण् the initial vowel of the word is vriddhied and the final is gunated. Thus सिन्धु 'ocean'; forms सिन्धु + अण् = सैन्धो + अ = सैन्धव 'born in ocean or oceanic.' But there are certain words e. g. अविष्ठा, फल्गुणी &c. which are all feminine gender (see sūtra IV. 3. 34) <sup>1</sup> after which the patronymic suffix is totally elided, without leaving any trace of its action, by using the word luk. Thus अविष्ठा + (अण्लुक्) = आविष्ठः ॥ Here then the present sūtra finds its scope. The Taddhita suffix being *laked*; the original feminine termination आ also becomes *luk*. Therefore the patronymic derivative of अविष्ठा (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely अविष्ठः; similarly from फल्गुनी we have फल्गुनः &c.

Thus there is a feminine suffix called डीष् (actually ई ) and certain words like इन्द्र &c., (IV. 1. 49) <sup>2</sup> take an additional suffix called आनुक् (actually आन्). Thus the feminine of इन्द्र will be इन्द्र + आनुक् + डीष् = इन्द्र + आन् . + ई. = इन्द्राणी. Now in forming Dvigu compound (Numeral Determinative compound), the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. Thus पञ्चकपालः 'an offering (purodash) made in a dish with five compartments.' In this compound the Taddhita suffix अण् is dropped. Otherwise the form would have been कापालः ॥ Similarly when the word इन्द्राणी forms a Dvigu compound, the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. But not only that, even the original radical affixes are also dropped by force of the present sūtra. Thus पञ्चेन्द्रः which means the cake sacred to the five goddesses इन्द्राणी. Here the full form was पञ्च + इन्द्राणी + अण्. (The suffix अण् has the force of "sacred to God." Thus इन्द्र + अण् = इन्द्रेन्द्रः sacred to God Indra). In the above expression, first the Taddhita-suffix अण् is *laked* by rule contained in sūtra IV. 1. 88 <sup>3</sup> relating to Dvigu compounds: we have then remaining पञ्च + इन्द्राणी. In this stage, the present sūtra comes into force and declares that where a Taddhita suffix has been *laked*, the final feminine suffixes of the upasarjana prātipadika are also *laked*. Therefore, the feminine suffixes आनुक् and डीष् are also dropped, and we have पञ्चेन्द्रः which means "cake sacred to the five Indrāṇīs (goddesses)."

(<sup>1</sup>) अविष्ठाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्य पुनर्वसुहस्तविशाषाढावहज्जल्लुक् ॥ (<sup>2</sup>) इन्द्रवरुण-  
भवधर्षरुद्रमुद्गहिमारण्यययवनमानुजाचार्योणामानुक् ॥ (<sup>3</sup>) द्विगोर्लुगनपरस्ये ॥



The words स्त्री and upasarjana of the last sūtra are understood in this. By the last sūtra, a word ending in a feminine affix was told to be shortened when it was an upasarjana; this sūtra teaches the total suppression of such an affix in special cases. To take another example: Thus Rule IV. 3. 163 declares फलेलुक् "luk takes the place of an affix signifying modification or product when fruit is meant." Thus यत् is an affix which means modification. Thus गो + यत् = गव्यम् 'cow's milk or the product of cow.' This affix is suppressed when applied to a tree, in the sense of the fruit of the tree. Thus the fruit of the tree आमलकी will be called आमलकं *i.e.*, first the Taddhita affix is *laked*, and then the feminine affix is also dropped. Similarly fruits of बदरी or बकुली trees, are बदरं or बकुलं.

This rule only applies when a Taddhita affix is elided; and not so when any other affix is *laked*. Thus गार्ग्याः + कुञ् = गार्गीकुञ् 'the family of Gārgī.' Here in forming the samāsa, the case affix of the word gārgī is *laked* by II. 4 71<sup>1</sup>. But this suppression of the genitive termination does not necessitate the elision of the feminine affix ई of gārgī.

This rule would also not apply if there is no elision by *luk* of a Taddhita affix, as in गार्गीस्वम्.

Nor will the rule apply when the word is not an upasarjana. As अवन्ती, कुन्ती, कुरूः .

इद् गोण्याः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, गोण्याः, (तद्धितलुकि) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ गोण्यास्तद्धितलुकि सति इकारादेशो भवति ॥

50. The short is substituted in the place of gonf, when the Taddhita affix is elided by luk.

By the former sūtra when a Taddhita is elided, the long ई of the feminine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word गोण्यां in which, under similar circumstances the short इ replaces the long ई, as in the compound पंचगोण्यिः 'purchased for five gonis.' Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of "purchased for," has been rejected after गोणी by V. 1. 28, therefore by previous sūtra, the feminine suffix ई also required rejection. But this sūtra intervenes and changes the long ई into short इ.

This sūtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called yoga-vibhāga. Thus इत् is made one sūtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of Taddhita affix by लुक्, then the long ई is replaced by short इ. Thus purchased with five needles = पंचानिः सूचीभिः क्रीतः = पंचसूचिः, पंचसूचिः . This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.

(1) सुपो धातुप्रतिपदिकयोः ॥ (2) अथ्यर्द्धपूर्वदिगोर्लुगसंज्ञायाम् ॥

लुपि युक्तवद्ब्यक्तिवचने ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुपि , युक्तवत् ,  
व्यक्ति-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः॥ लुपिवि लुपञ्चया लुप्तस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थ उच्यते; वन लुपि युक्तवद्ब्यक्तिवचनेभवतः॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ हरीतक्यादिषु व्यक्तिः ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ खलतिकादिषु वचनम् ॥

51. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुप् , then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

This sūtra consists of four words : लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप् 2 युक्तवत् 'appropriate to the same.' 3 व्यक्ति, 'gender,' 4 वचनं 'number.' The form vyakti vachane is dual.

When a Taddhita affix is luped, then the derivative word *retains* the gender and number of the primitive word. Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a लुक्' and "let there be a लुप्"॥ The direct action of both words is the rejection of the suffix ; but a derivative formed by luk rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word ; while a derivative formed by *lup*-rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word.

Thus in the secondary derivative word शिरीषाः meaning 'a village not far away from शिरीष trees'; the masculine gender and plural number of the original word has been retained, though made applicable to a village, which is in the singular number and neuter gender ; similarly the word पञ्चालाः is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province.

This sūtra is not an approved rule ; as will be mentioned by Pāṇini in sūtra 53 following and is consequently of little practical importance.

Thus पञ्चालाः are a class of Kshatriyas, as such it is masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Pañchālās live is also called Pañchālās ; similarly कुरुवः, मागधाः &c. There is a rule जनपदेलुप्. (IV. 2. 81, the *lup* takes the place of an affix when signifying the proper name of a country or kingdom). Thus पञ्चालाः + अल् (this is one of the affixes forming country) = पञ्चालाः .

This rule does not apply when the affix is suppressed by the word लुक् &c. and not लुप्. Thus लवणः सूपः 'salted soap' लवणायवागुः 'salted gruel,' लवणं शाकं 'salted vegetable.' Here the affix उक् has been elided by the word *luk*, by IV. 4. 24, लवणाल्लुक् (after the word lavana; the affix is *luded*).

These derivatives retain only the gender and number of the original, but no other quality. Thus as we have already seen that शिरीषाः śirīṣhāḥ, is the name of a village and is formed by the *lup* of the affix. Now compounding it with वन we have शिरीषवनम् 'the forest of the village Śirīṣhā.' Here

the word शिरीषा: means village, and not trees. Had it meant trees called širisha, then the न of वन would have become ए optionally by Rule VIII. 4. 6. ( विभाषीषधि वनरपतिभ्यः ॥ the न of the word वन is optionally changed into ए when preceded by words signifying annual herbs and trees).

*Vart*:—In the case of the words *Haritaki* &c. the gender only is retained and not the number. As हरीतक्य फलानि 'the fruits of Haritaki.' Here फलं is neuter in form, while हरीतकी is feminine.

*Vart*:—The words खलतिक &c. retain their number only but not gender, as खलतिकंवनानि 'mountain forests i. e. forests in the vicinity of mountains.' Here खलतिक is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same *vis.* neuter.

विशेषणानां चाजातेः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणानाम्, च,  
अजातेः, ( लुपि ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुचर्थस्ययानि विशेषणानि तेषामपि व्यक्तवचने भवतो जातिं वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मनुष्यलुपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

52. And of adjectives, (the gender and number are the same as of the word formed by *lup* elision of the Taddhita and which they qualify) so far as the *jāti* (or kind or species) is concerned; (or when not expressing *jāti*).

When a Taddhita is *luped*, the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पंचालाः रमणीयाः बहुलाः, बहुक्षीरघृताः बहुमाल्यफलाः 'the pleasant Pañchālās having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.' Here the adjective रमणीयाः pleasant &c., agrees in number and gender with the Pañchālāḥ; being also in masculine plural. But when such a derivative is used as a *jāti* word then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पंचालाः जनपदः, गोदो ग्रामः. Here जनपद though qualifying Pañchālā does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by the *lup* of Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita-formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita-word. Thus पंचालाः जनपदो रमणीयो बहुलः 'the country of Pañchālās is pleasant and fertile.' Here the words रमणीयः and बहुलः qualify directly the word 'जनपदः' and indirectly the word Pañchālās, and therefore do not agree with the latter.

The explanation of this sūtra as given by Patanjali in the Mahābhāshya is somewhat different from that of the Kāśikā. The phrase चाजातेः is analysed by him as च and आजातेः, the sense being "and as far as the jāti goes." The word jāti is thus explained:—

A word expressing whatever is distinguishable by its form or figure, or which being the name of an individual is easily found applicable to others without any further teaching, (a common name) provided it is not a word used in all genders, (common noun मुख्यजाति genus); and (only for the purpose of grammar as coming under the rules relating to the above mentioned words), a word expressing descendants by their parentage as well as a word expressing a person by the branch of the Vedas ( शाखा ) which the family to which the person belongs is competent to read शाखाध्येतृ (śākhādhyetṛi) (शौणजाति) = जातिवाचकाः (jātivāchakāḥ) आकृति गृहणाञ्जातिर्निर्गानां च न सर्वभाक् । सकृदाख्यात निग्राह्यगोत्रं च चरणैः सह ॥

The following examples will illustrate the meaning of the above definition:—(1) तद् is a jāti word because it denotes what is distinguishable by its form, i. e. by its being contiguous to a place covered with water, (2) शूद्र is such a word, because when given as the name of an individual, is applicable to other śūdras (common name), (3) औपगव is such a word, and (4) कठ a person belonging to the family competent to read the branch of the Vedas called kaṭha is also such a word. But देवदत्त is not such a word, because it is a proper name applicable to only one individual and शुक is likewise not such a word, because it, though a common name, is used in all genders.

*Vart:*—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the लुप् elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कन् (क) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus अश्वकः means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus चञ्चा means a "doll of straw." But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चञ्चा + कन्लुप् (लुम्नप्ये V. 3. 98) = चञ्चा. Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चञ्चा अभिरूपः 'the delightful straw figure of man.' वरिष्काः दर्शनीयः 'a beautiful representation of an eunuch.'

तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अशिष्यम्, संज्ञा प्रमाणत्वात्, ॥

इति ॥ तदशिष्यं न वक्तव्यं कस्मात्संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ॥

53. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and substantives) need not be taught (or approved), because it has the authority of *sanjñā* (or conventional term or idiom).

The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes; of primary and secondary words formed by suffix rejection, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives; but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom: and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word *शराः* 'wife' has the form of masculine plural, but is always applied to females, similarly *आपः* 'water' is always feminine plural in form, so also *गृहाः वर्षाः तिक्रताः*. This *sūtra*, therefore, modifies the former *sūtras*, and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

The words like *Pañchālās*, *Kurava* &c., should not be considered as derivative words formed by the lup elision of *Taddhita*; but they must be taken as proper nouns and appellatives of certain countries; consequently the gender and number of such words are fixed by the nature of such words and not by any rule of grammar.

लुप् योगाप्रख्यानात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्, योग-अप्रख्यानात्;  
( अशिष्यम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योऽयं जनपदे लुप् वरणादिभ्यश्चेति लुक्च्यते अयं न वक्तव्यः, किं कारणं योगाप्रख्यानात् नहि पञ्चाला वरणा इति योगः सम्बन्धः प्रख्यायते नैतदुपलभामहे वृत्तयोगालगदे वरणा इति ॥

54. The *sūtras* declaring lup elision need not also be taught, because of the non-currency of the etymological meaning of the words supposed to be formed by lup elision.

In explaining certain words, it is a round-about way of going to work to say that there was a suffix after them, which has been rejected, without producing any effect. It is easier to say that the form is what we find it to be, and that its peculiar meaning depends upon usage. Moreover, in many cases, the would-be etymological meaning is not in fact the current meaning which the word has in ordinary language. It is therefore a useless circumlocution to presuppose the existence of a suffix, to add it to a word, and, then after all, to make it vanish.

Thus वरणाः Varanâḥ is the name of a city. To say that it is derived from वरणाः a kind of tree, because the city is situated near such trees, and the trees gave the name to the city, is a cumbersome process. Because there might be no trees वरणा at all near the town Varanâ. Let us therefore call words like वरणा, पञ्चाला, &c., as simply proper nouns. Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the Taddhita affixes given in IV. 2. 69 and 70 (तस्य निवासः, अदूरभवच्च), relating to residence and vicinity; much less of rules relating to 'lup' elision contained in IV. 2 81 and 82 (जनपदेक्षुप्, वरणादिभ्यश्च).

योगप्रमाणे च तद्भावेऽदर्शनं स्यात् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ योग-  
प्रमाणे, च, तद्-अभावे, अदर्शनम्, स्यात्,

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चालादयः संज्ञा शब्दा न योगनिमित्तादित्युक्तं, तथावश्यमेवाभ्युपगन्तव्यं योग-  
प्रमाणे हि तद्भावे ऽदर्शनं स्यात्, यदि पञ्चालादि शब्दो योगस्य प्रमाणं योगस्य वाचकः स्यात् ततस्तद-  
भावेऽदर्शनमप्रयोगः स्यात् ॥

55. And if the etymological meaning be held authoritative, then when such meaning is absent, the word also should vanish.

This sūtra strengthens the former sūtra. If it be said that a word always retains its etymological meaning in current language; then when there is an absence of such etymological meaning, then the word itself ought to vanish. But we know, as a matter of fact, that, there are words which have altogether lost their etymological sense, and connote a thing different from their radical meaning. Therefore to explain such words by *lup* elision of affixes is improper, because they do not retain the meaning of their primitive words.

It has already been said that words like पञ्चालाः &c. are not deriva-  
tive words, &c. but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if Pañchâlâs be the name of the country in which the Kshatryas called Pañchâlâs live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañchâlâs. But we know, as a matter of fact, these words are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called रूढि words.

प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥  
प्रधान-प्रत्यय, अर्थ-वचनम् अर्थस्य, अन्यप्रमाणत्वात् (अशिष्यं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रधानं समाप्ते किञ्चित्पदं प्रत्ययस्तद्व्यसक्तिः साम्यामर्थवचनमर्थानिधानमनेन प्रका-  
रेण भवतीति पूर्वोच्यते: पारिभाषिकम् प्रधानोपसङ्गने प्रधानार्थसहभूतः प्रकृति प्रत्ययौसहायं भूत इति ।  
तन् पाणिनिराचाचार्यः प्रत्याचष्टे अशिष्यमेतत् अर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात्तिति । अन्य इति शास्त्रापेक्षया  
लोकान्यपरिहृत्यते, शब्दैरर्थानिधानंस्वाभाविकं न पारिभाषिकमशक्यत्वात् । लोकव एवार्थावगतैः ॥

56. (Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pradhâna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else.

This sūtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words; Pradhâna: 'Principal in a compound.' As in the compound राजपुरुषः 'king's man,' the word rāja is Upasarjana; and पुरुषः is pradhâna. 2. Pratyaya: 'affix.' 3. अर्थे 'meaning.' 4. वचनम् 'word or sentence.'

In the time of Pāṇini, there were some grammarians, who held the opinion, that the meaning of a word is determined, if a compound word, then by its principal word; and if a derivative word, then by the suffix. Pāṇini controverts this opinion by declaring that in as much as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, therefore the proofs for the meaning of a word are not to be searched either in the affixes which go to form it; or by its principal word, if it is a compound. Because, says Pāṇini, the proof of the meaning of a word is in something else, that is to say in the usage of a people and not in the suffixes &c. A person who has never heard the name of grammar, understands full well when told to bring a Raja-purusha. He brings an official and not a king, nor even any person in general. Similarly when told to bring an औषधम् he brings a cowherd's child, not a cowherd, nor a child in general, nor both. When, therefore, the sense of a word is determined by usage, there is no use to strive to find out the sense by grammatical rules.

कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-उपसर्जने, च,  
तुल्यम्, ( अशिष्यम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालोपसर्जने चाशिष्ये कालादर्शस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् ॥

57. And a rule fixing the meaning of Tense (kāla) and Upasarjana (sequence) is equally (unnecessary, and need not be taught).

Here Pāṇini controverts the opinion of those grammarians who would even define time and sequence. Thus there were authors who defined pluperfect as a tense relating to time hundred years past, others said a thousand years past &c. Pāṇini declares that these are redundant definitions and reprehensible, for the same reason as given in the previous sūtra.

To give another example. Thus अद्यतनः कालः or the period of the current day, has been thus defined by some Acharyas:—"The period of time beginning from the point when one rises (or ought to rise) from his bed, according to the law, and ending with the point when one goes to bed, according to rule, is called adyatana." Others say "from midnight to midnight is the period of the current day." Similarly others have explained the 'upasarjana' to mean "that which is not the principal word in a compound is called upasarjana." The sage Pāṇini has not thought it worth his while to define such words as upasarjana, in as much as their sense is well understood by all as a matter of usage. Thus common people who have never heard of grammar, also know the correct use of tenses, they say. "This is to be done by me to-day, this will be done by us to-morrow, this was done by us yesterday."

Similarly common people also know the use of the word upasarjana, for they say:—"व्यमत्र गृहे मामे वा उपसर्जनम् 'we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,' meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

Why was not this sūtra included in the last? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this? The answer is that it is an illustrative sūtra, and does not exhaust the subject. There are other rules made by former sages which are also not taught by Pāṇini. Thus the following rules of old Rishis are not taught herein, they being supposed to be well-known. "A Bahuvrihi compound connotes ownership." "In Dvanda compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal" "In Avyayibhāva compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal" &c.

जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥

जाति-आख्यायाम् , एकस्मिन् , बहुवचनम् , अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्नर्थे बहुवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संख्याप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधोक्तव्यः ॥

58. In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed.

The words of this sūtra require some detailed explanation. The name of a jāti or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number; by the present sūtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular. The anuvṛitti of aśishyam does not go further.



It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common noun, such as संपन्नः &c., agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus संपन्नो यवः or संपन्ना यवाः; "Full grown barley" पूर्ववत्वा-ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेयः or पूर्ववत्त्वो ब्राह्मणाः प्रत्युत्थेयाः ॥

Why have we used the word jāti in this sūtra? For this aphorism does not apply to Proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्तः Devadatta, यज्ञदत्तः Yajñadatta. Why have we used the word आख्यायाम्? A word may be a class noun or jāti, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of kâśyapa may also be called kâśyapa; this is a class noun, but as it is not the appellation आख्या or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.

Why do we say 'ekasmin'? When two or more class names are compounded as ग्रीहियवौ 'the rice and barley:' the rule does not apply.

*Vart*:—An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको ग्रीहिः संपन्नः सुभिक्षं करोति.

अस्मदो द्वयोश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदः, द्वयोः, च, ( एकस्मिन्, बहुवचनं अन्यतरस्याम् )

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मदो योऽर्थस्तस्यैकत्वे द्वित्वे च बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सविशेषणस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ युष्मदि गुरावेकेषाम् ॥

59. The plural of the pronoun *asmad*, 'I,' is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus "I speak" or "we speak" (अहं ब्रवीमि or वयं ब्रुमः), may be spoken by one person, similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case, thus आवां ब्रुवः 'we to speak' or वयं ब्रुमः 'we speak.'

*Vart*:—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute:—अहं देवदत्तो ब्रवीमि. 'I Devadatta am speaking.' अहं गार्ग्यो ब्रवीमि 'I Gārgya am saying.' Here we cannot use the plural.

*Vart*:—The word गुरु 'master' may have plural form though referring to one person, when following the word युष्मद्; as एवं मे गुरुः or यूयं मे गुरवः. 'Thou art my master', or 'you are my master.'

फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ फल्गुनी-प्रोष्ठ-पदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फल्गुन्योर्द्वयोः प्रोष्ठपदश्च द्वयोर्नक्षत्रयोर्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

60. And the dual of Phālgunī and Proshṭha-padā, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).

The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvṛitti of the word द्वयः from the last. Of the stars phalgunī and proshṭhapadā, the forms may be either dual or plural. As उदिते पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ (dual); or उदिताः पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः (plural.) So also पूर्वे श्रोत्रपदे or पूर्वाः श्रोत्रपदाः॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunī and proshṭhapadā, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sūtra ordains plural optionally. If phalgunī and proshṭhapada are not names of asterisms they must have their proper number : as फल्गुन्यौ माणविके ॥

छन्दसि पुनर्वसोरैकवचनम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, पुनर्वसोः, एक-वचनम्, ( अन्यतरस्याम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयोर्द्विवचने प्राप्ते पुनर्वसोरुच्छन्दसि विषये एकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

61. In the Vedas, the two stars, Punarvasū, may optionally be singular, (and connote a dual).

In the Vedas, the star *punarvasū* which is always *dual* in form, may be in the singular form and connote a dual meaning. As पुनर्वसुर्नक्षत्रं नक्षत्रमिति देवता ॥ The option is only allowed in the Vedas and not in profane literature. In the latter it must be in the dual, that is, पुनर्वसू ॥ Similarly when it is not the appellation of an asterism but of a man, there is no option. As पुनर्वसू माणविकौ .

विशाखयोश्च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशाखयोः, च ( छन्दसि, अन्यतरस्याम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचने प्राप्ते छन्दसि विषये विशाखयोरैकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

62. In the Vedas, the two stars Viśâkhâ may optionally be in the singular number.

The word विशाखा is in the dual number as a rule. In the Vedas, it is found sometime to have the singular form, denoting duality. Thus विशाखा नक्षत्रम् or विशाखे नक्षत्रमिन्द्राग्नी देवता ॥

तिष्यपुनर्वसोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिष्य-पुनर्वसोः, नक्षत्र-द्वन्द्वे, बहुवचनस्य, द्वि-वचनम्, नित्यम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्यपुनर्वसोर्नक्षत्रविषयेद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनप्रसङ्गे नित्यं द्विवचनं भवति ॥

63. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasū, the dual constantly comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasu (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus उदितौ तिष्यपुनर्वसूदृश्येते 'the Tishya and Punarvasu having risen are seen (dual).'

There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasu. As the Dvanda compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number. Why do we say 'Tishya' and 'Punarvasu'? Observe विशाखानुराधा: 'the stars Visâkhâ and Anurâdhâ.' The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars but are used in any other sense. As तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवकाः, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasus.'

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sūtra, when the previous sūtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasu. As तिष्यपुनर्वसु; पुष्यपुनर्वसु, सिद्धपुनर्वसु ॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus तिष्यपुनर्वसवः is an example of Bahuvrihi compound meaning "persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasu."

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As तिष्यपुनर्वसु इति.

This sūtra indicates by implication (jñâpaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular" for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sūtra would be superfluous.

The word 'always' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sūtra and does not extend to it or any further.

सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ ॥६४॥ पदानि ॥ सरूपाणाम्, एक-शेष, एक-विभक्तौ,

वृत्ति ॥ सरूपाणां शब्दानां एकविभक्तौ परत एकशेषो भवति ॥

64. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sūtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekaśeṣha (or retention of one). When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped. Thus वृक्षः + वृक्षः = वृक्षौ (trees, in dual) वृक्षः + वृक्षः + वृक्षः = वृक्षाः .

Every individual thing requires an individual word to express it; one word therefore could not express many things; to prevent the repetition of

the same word to express many objects of similar form, is the purpose of this sūtra, by which one word is only retained.

This applies only to words having the same form and not if they have different forms ; as वृक्ष न्यग्रोधः the plaksha and nyagrodha trees.

The word " form " is used in the text to show that even if two words have different meanings, but the same form, the rule of Ekaśeṣha will apply, as अक्षः (die) + अक्षः (eye) + अक्षः (axle) = अक्षाः. Similary पादाः and भाषाः .

The present rule only applies to the retention of *one*, and prevents the retention of two or more.

The word शेष (retention) is used to show that there is not a *substitution* (Ādeśa) of one for many, but the *retention* of one out of many.

The rule will not apply if the two words are in different case-terminations, though they may have the same form. As पयः (1. s.) पयो (2. s.) जरयति ; ब्राह्मणान्यां (3. d.) च कृतं ब्राह्मणान्यां (4. d.) च वेदि .

वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेद्विशेषः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धः, यूना,  
तत्-लक्षणः, चेद् एव, विशेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धोयूनासहचनोऽप्यने युवानिवर्त्तते तल्लक्षणश्चेद्विशेषः ॥

65. The vṛiddha (or patronymic Gotra word becomes ekaśeṣha, and is retained, when compounded) with a patronymic word called yuvan, provided that the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affix) only.

The word śeṣha of the previous sūtra is understood here. The word " yūnā " in the text is in the instrumental case. The yuvan word is dropped when read along with a Vṛiddha word. The word Vṛiddha means gotra: the old Ācharyas (grammarians) used the word Vṛiddha for gotra. The vṛiddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and original head of the family a son (or a word formed by an apatyā affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vṛiddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words gotra and yuvan are defined in sūtras IV. 1. 162 and 163. (अपत्यं पौत्रमभूति गोत्रम् ॥ जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा) ॥ Roughly speaking a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family when a son of such person is living; and a vṛiddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son ; while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.

The word 'tad' in the sūtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakṣhaṇa 'sign' in the sūtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word चेत् in the sūtra means 'if.' The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेषः in the sūtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ग्यः + गार्ग्यायणः = गार्ग्यौ. Here the first word denotes a clan called Gārgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix यञ् (IV. I. 105) <sup>1</sup> the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix क् denoting a secondary derivative. <sup>2</sup> In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form "Gārgyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similary वात्स्यः + वात्स्यायनः वात्स्यौ ॥

This Ekaśeṣha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same radical form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to:—गार्ग्यः (a Vṛiddha word) (+ वात्स्यायनः (a yuvan word) = गार्ग्यवात्स्यायनौ ॥

This rule of ekaśeṣha does not apply if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गर्गः + गार्ग्यायणः = गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ ॥

Similarly *vice versa* गार्ग्यः + गर्गः = गार्ग्यगर्गौ । Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, *i. e.* form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not applicable. Thus Rule IV. I. 148 <sup>3</sup> says a "Vṛiddhā word may optionally take the affix डक् to form a yuvan word and to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvīra." Thus भागवित्तिः + भागवित्तिः = भागवित्तिभागवित्तिः। Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix डक् is not merely a yuvan affix but conveys the other sense also. The pure yuvan word being भागवित्तायनः.

N. B.—The system of domestic economy among the ancient Aryas was considerably different from the prevalent one. The surnames or the gotras represented the patriarchal system. Three forms of surnames are constantly met with in ancient literature. The first was most important; it was the patronymic by which the lord of the united family the patriarch was known. For example, Garga or Gargachārya was the recognised head of all the Gargas who may be a hundred. His eldest son and heir was called Gārgi. This is the first form of the patronymic (apatya). The grandsons or sons of Gārgi were named Gārgyas (Vṛiddham or Gotra). On the decease of the old patriarch, Gārgi began to be called Garga; and the eldest of the grandsons was called Gārgi; and those great grand-sons who belonged to the family, and were designated Gārgāyanas (yuvan) were now called Gārgyas."

(<sup>1</sup>) गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ (<sup>2</sup>) यञ्चिञ्चोश्च ॥ (<sup>3</sup>) वृद्धाद्युक्त्सौवीरेषु बहुलम् ॥

स्त्री पुंवच्च ॥६६॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्री, पुंघत्, च (शेषवदुयूना तल्ल०वि०)  
वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्री वृद्धा यूना सहवचने शिष्यते तल्लक्षणधेरेव विशेषो भवति ॥

66. And so also a feminine word, ending with a vṛiddha affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word but which ends with a yuvan affix, is only retained; and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting gotra and in the feminine gender is compounded with another word denoting a yuvan, the first is retained and the last is dropped; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous sūtra and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that sūtra. Thus गार्गी + गार्ग्यायणः = गार्गी. Here note that the resultant form is the same as in the former sūtra namely the masculine.

Similarly दाक्षी + दाक्षायणः = दाक्षी (masculine dual of दाक्षि).

*Vart*—The word *stri* in the sūtra means Vṛiddhā stri, that is the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant considered as the female head of the family. The words 'tal lakshanaś chedeva viśeṣaḥ' of the previous sūtra govern this sūtra also *i. e.* the distinction between the two words must be in their formative element and not in any thing else.

पुमान् स्त्रिया ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमान्, स्त्रिया ( शेषः , तल्ल-  
क्षणश्चेदेषविशेषः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रियासहवचने पुमान् शिष्यते स्त्रीनिवर्त्तते स्त्रीपुंसलक्षणधेरेवविशेषो भवति ॥

67. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes ekaśeṣha, and the latter is dropped.

When two words of different genders differ only in their derivative elements but not in their radical elements, that is to say, one is masculine and the other feminine because of certain affixes, the masculine only is retained and the feminine is dropped.

The governing force of the words 'vṛiddha' and 'yuvan,' of sūtra 65, does not extend to this sūtra, but the remaining portion of sūtra 65 is to be read into this sūtra. When a masculine word is read along with a feminine word, the feminine word is dropped and the masculine is retained, when the difference between the two words is caused only by the feminine and masculine affixes: as ब्राह्मणः + ब्राह्मणी = ब्राह्मणौ 'the Brāhmaṇa and the Brāhmaṇī'; कृकुरुदः + कृकुरी = कृकुरौ . 'the cock and hen.'

But not so in the following :—कुक्कुटः + मयूरी = कुक्कुटमयूरी 'the cock and the peahen,' Similarly गणकः + गणकी = गणकगणक्यौ. Here the feminine affix डीष्, by which the word gaṇakī is formed from gaṇaka; in addition to its feminine signification, has the further signification given to it by Rule IV. 1. 48, पुंयोगादाख्यायाम्, meaning the " wife of " a gaṇaka and not a feminine gaṇaka; so also इन्द्रश्च इन्द्राणी चेन्द्रेन्द्राण्यौ ॥ Similarly आर्यः + आर्या = आर्यौ but आर्यः + आर्याणी = आर्यार्याण्यौ. Because the feminine affix in *aryani* conveys more than its feminine signification. See Rule IV. 1. 49.

This rule does not, of course, apply when it is not a masculine noun which is compounded, but it is a noun without any gender or neuter noun which is compounded with a feminine noun. Therefore प्राक् + प्राची = प्राक्प्राच्यौ. The word प्राक् is an indeclinable and is without any gender.

भ्रातृपुत्री स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातृ-पुत्री, स्वसृ-  
दुहितृभ्याम्, ( शेषः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ययासंख्यं भ्रातृपुत्रशार्दाशिष्येते सहवचने स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् ॥

68. The words bhrātri, 'brother,' and putra, 'son,' when spoken of along with svasri, 'sister' and duhitri 'daughter' respectively are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

With this sūtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in sūtra 65. Even where the radical elements of two words are different, there may be an ekaśeṣha under special circumstances. Thus भ्रातृ + स्वसृ = भ्रातरौ (brother and sister or brothers), similarly पुत्र + दुहितृ = पुत्रौ, (son and daughter or sons).

N. B.—The practical application of this sūtra is very neatly illustrated by the following example. There is a verse in Yājñyavalkya smṛiti पत्नीदुहितरश्चैव पितरौ भ्रातरस्तथा which declares that on the death of a sonless person his property passes to his wife, daughters, parents and bhrātarah.

Here the word bhrātarah, if it be taken as simply the plural of bhrātri, it means " brothers " and excludes sisters. But if it be interpreted according to this sūtra, it means " brothers and sisters "; and thus gives sisters a right to inherit property of their brothers.

नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥  
नपुंसकम्, अनपुंसकेन, एकवत्, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ( शेषः,  
तल्लक्षणञ्चैव विशेषः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकानपुंसकमात्रकृते विशेषेऽनपुंसकेन सहवचने नपुंसकशिष्येते; एकवच्चास्व-  
कार्यं भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

69. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix; is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number.

A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them; provided that the words differ in gender signs only; but radically they be the same. Thus आलस्यो, मैथुनं, निद्रा सेव्यमानं विवर्द्धते 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective 'sevyamānam' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'ālasya' which is in the masculine; 'maithunam' which is in the neuter, and 'nidrā' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter, the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekaśeṣha may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not apply. Thus शुक्लं + शुक्लं + शुक्लं = शुक्लानि the word is in the plural; there is no ekavadbhāva.

The words तल्लङ्गणभेदेन विशेषः of sūtra 65 governs this sūtra also: thus शुक्लञ्च कम्बलः, शुक्ला च बृहतिका, शुक्लं च वस्त्रं. "The white (masc.) blanket, the white (fem.) wrapper, and the white (neut.) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as शुक्लं (neut.).

पिता मात्रा ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पिता, मात्रा (शेष, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रासह वचने पितृशब्दः शिष्यते अन्यतरस्याम्

70. The word pitri, 'father' is optionally only retained when spoken of along with māttri, 'mother.'

Thus पिता + माता = पितरौ, 'father and mother, or parent' or मातापितरौ. The verse quoted under sūtra 68 illustrates this sūtra also. There the word 'pitarau' has been explained by all commentators as "father and mother." The word "ekavad" of the last sūtra does not govern this sūtra; though the anuvṛitti of 'optionally' is to be read into this.

श्वशुरः श्वश्र्वा ॥७१॥ पदानि ॥ श्वशुरः, श्वश्र्वा, (शेष, अन्य-तरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वश्रासह वचने श्वशुरशब्दः शिष्यते अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

71. The word śvaśura 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with śvaśrī, 'mother-in-law.'



Thus इवशुः+इवभू may be either इवैशुतो 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or इवभइवशुतो ॥

त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदीनि , सर्वैः ,  
नित्यम् ( शेषः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि सर्वैः सहवचने नित्यं शिष्यन्ते त्यदाभिरन्यैश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्यदादीनां नियोयव्यत्युपरंतचाच्छिष्यते ॥

72. The pronouns 'tyad &c.' when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than 'tyad &c.') are always retained as ekasesha, (to the exclusion, of others).

The list of 'tyadādi' pronouns has been given under sūtra I. 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim,' when these tyadādi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate 'universality'; *i. e. whatever* may be the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c.' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus सः (he) + देवदत्तः (Devadatta) = तौ (they two).

*Vart*:—When त्यदादि words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Ganapāṭha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus यः+सः=यौ; यः+कः=कौ ॥ Thus यद् is read after तद् (see I. 1. 27), so यद् will be retained and not तद्; similarly किम् is read after यद्, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of यद्.

ग्राम्यपशुसंघेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम्य-पशु-संघेषु,  
अतरुणेषु , स्त्री , ( शेषः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्राम्याणां पशूनां संघाः ग्राम्यपशुसंघाः; एतेषु सह विवक्षायां स्त्री शिष्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनेकशफेष्वितिवक्तव्यम् ॥

73. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see 67). The present sūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders ;

the feminine noun is preferred ; provided that the words should not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'paśu' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha.' As गाव इमाः 'these cows (and bulls).' अंजरा इमाः 'these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grāmya) animals and not to *wild* animals ; and only to *beasts* (paśu) and not men. As हरुव इमे, 'these wild deers' (male and female), पुषता इमे, 'these antelopes' (male and female), ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brāhmaṇas' (male and female) क्षत्रियाः, 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these, the masculine noun is retained by Rule 67.

*Vart.*—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore अश्वा इमे, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) "collection" ? Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः, 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gāvau' does not connote 'bull' also.

Why do we say "not being young." ? वत्सा इमे 'these calves' ; बर्करा इमे 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained, by the application of Rule 67.

ओ३म्

# ॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

भूषादयो धातवः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूष-आदयः , धातवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भू इत्येवमादयः शब्दा क्रियावचना धातुसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

1. The words beginning with bhû 'to become,' and denoting action, are called dhâtu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhâtu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû 'to be.' Sanskrit grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows :—

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad. 3. Hu. 4. Div. 5. Su. 6. Tud. 7. Rudh. 8. Tan. 9. Kri. 10. Chur.

There are nearly two thousand verbs, and they are conjugated in two forms, some taking the Parasmaipada terminations only, the others the Atmanepada terminations and some both. The present chapter deals mostly with rules determining the nature of the verbal root, whether it is Parasmaipadi or Atmanepadi or both. A verb expresses action. The word dhâtu is a word coined by older grammarians than Pāṇini and they employed the term in denoting a word expressing action. Here also therefore, the word dhâtu means a word which expresses action.

The वा in the sūtra is for the sake of auspiciousness ; for the regular sandhi of भू + आदि is भ्वादि and not भूवादि ; while Dr. Ballantyne considers that वा is a separate root: he translates the sūtra thus :—“ Let the verbal roots bhû 'be,' vâ 'blow' and the like be called dhâtu.”

उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदेशे , अच् , अनु-  
नासिकः , इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदिश्यतेऽनेनेति उपदेशः, शाल्लवाक्यानि सूत्रपाठः खिलपाठश्च तत्र योऽजनुनासिकः स इत्संज्ञो भवति ॥

2. The nasalized vowels are इत् in Upadeśa, or original enunciation.

Anunāsika or nasalized vowels are इत् that is indicatory, when occurring in technical words. Thus in किन्, विद्, विच् the anunāsika इ is इत्. The original sūtra contains the word 'upadeśa' which we have translated as technical term. 'Upadeśa' literally means 'instruction' or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sūtrapāṭha, or gaṇapāṭha or dhātupāṭha &c.

From this sūtra up to sūtra 9, there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called इत् " In Pāṇini's Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini's explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal." An upadeśa is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (Āgama), or a verbal root (dhātu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root एघ 'to increase,' the final अ is indicatory, the real root is एघ्. So also the final अ of स्पृज् is इत् ॥

If the word is not an upadeśa, then the nasal vowel is not इत् ॥ As अत्र अँ अयः ॥ A word may be an upadeśa and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इत् as the affix मनिन् in sūtra III. 2. 74. ( आतो मनिन् कनिच् वनिपथ ) It is only the nasal vowel of an upadeśa that becomes इत्, and not all the vowels. The word इत् occurs in sūtras १. 2. 16. ( आदितथ &c.).

हलन्त्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्त्यम्, ( उपदेशे इत् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वारेः समुदायस्य यदन्यं हल् तद्विखंडं भवति ॥

3. In upadeśa, the final consonant of roots &c. is इत्.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes &c. are indicatory. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras अ इ उ ए; here ए is इत् ॥ अ ल् क्; here क् is इत् ॥ ए ओङ्; here ङ् is इत् ॥ ऐ औच्; here च् is इत् ॥ It is only in upadeśa, that a final consonant is इत्. Not therefore, in अमिचित् or सोमसुत्, which are complete words.

न विभक्तौ तुस्माः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न विभक्तौ, तु-स्-माः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेषु प्रमायामित्स्वजायां विभक्तौ वर्त्तमानानां तवर्गं सकार मकाराणां प्रतिषेध उच्यते ॥

4. The final dental consonants, and the final ष्, and न्, are not इत्, in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

This is an exception to the previous sūtra which declared all final consonants to be इत्. In case terminations, the final त्, थ्, द्, ध्, न्, स्, and म्, are not इत्. Thus the case termination of nominative plural is जस्. Here the final स्, though a consonant is not an इत्; and is not rejected, as in ब्राह्मणाः ॥ The word तु in the sūtra means the letters of the class त्, by virtue of sūtra 69 Chapter I. (see ante). The word vibhakti will be defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 104. These are terminations applied to nouns in declining them through various cases; and to verbs in conjugating them. Thus in sūtra VII. 1. 12, (टाडसिड्साभिनास्स्याः) the vibhaktis इन, आत् and स्व replace टा, ङिति and ङच्. Here the final त् of the affix आत् is not indicatory and hence not rejected, as वृत्तात्. Similarly verbal terminations तस् and थस् as पचतः, पचथः ॥ So also the final म् as ताम् and तम् in अपचताम् and अपचतम् ॥

This exception applies only to vibhaktis and not to affixes in general. Thus the finals of यत् (III. 1. 97 अचोयत्;) युच् (V. 2. 123 ऊर्णया युच्) and म् (III. 1. 78 रुपादिभ्य म्) are इत् and are rejected. This exception, however does not apply to the vibhakti अत् (in V. 3. 12 किनोऽत् or III. 4. 106, इतोऽत्). In those two sūtras the final त् of the vibhakti is इत्. The reason of this is, that the present sūtra is an anitya sūtra, i. e. a rule not of general application. In sūtra V. 3. 24, (इदमस्यमुः) we find, 'the word इदम् takes the vibhakti यमु in the sense of mode or manner.' As इद् + यमु = इदयम्, 'in this manner.' Now यमु is a vibhakti by V. 3. 1. (प्राग्विधो विभक्तिः) the ङ is इत्, the real vibhakti is यम्. Now had the present sūtra been of universal application, then there would have been no necessity of adding this ङ as indicatory letter, which has been evidently added to save the म् of यम् from becoming an इत्. This sūtra is consequently an anitya sūtra.

आदिर्जिदुहवः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, जि-दु-हवः, (इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जि दु डु इत्ये तेषां समुदायानामादितो वर्तमानानामित्स्संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

5. The initial ñi, tu, and du are इत् ॥

The syllables जि, दु and डु, standing at the beginning of a root are indicatory; as जिमिहा 'to have affectionate pleasure.' The real root is मिद्, the जि is servile. So दुनदि 'to rejoice, be glad' the real root being नद्. So डुदाद् 'to give' the real root being दा.

The जि shows that the past participle क्त has the power of the present III. 2. 187 (श्रीतः क्तः). As जिफला—कुल्लः 'blown'; जिमिहा—मिन्नः 'fat'; जिधृषा—धृष्टः 'bold,' जिस्त्रिहा—स्त्रिन्नः 'soft,' जिदन्धी—इद्धः 'kindled.'

The डु subjoined to a root serves to show that it admits the affix अथु to form a noun indicative of the act (III. 3. 89 द्वितोऽथुच्); as डुवेष्टः—वेष्टयुः 'shaking'; डुओदिव—इवययुः 'swelling.'

The दु indicates that the root to which it is subjoined admits of the affix चिन् (III. 3. 88, द्वितः चिः) to form a noun or adjective attributive of the act

by which the substantive thing has been produced, as कुम्भम्—कृत्रिमम् 'artificial' दुपचप्—परिमम् 'ripe'; कुवप्—उत्तमम् 'sown.'

If these three syllables do not stand in the beginning of a verb, they are not indicatory; as पठयति, कण्ठयति &c.

षः प्रत्ययस्य ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षः, प्रत्ययस्य, ( आदि इत् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पकारः प्रत्ययस्यादिरित्स्वन्तो भवति ॥

6. The initial ष् of an affix is indicatory.

The initial ष् of an affix gets the name of इत् and is rejected. Thus by Rule III. 1. 145 (शिष्यिनि ष्वन्) the affix ष्वन् is added to a verb to indicate proficient in the art expressed by the verb. The ष् and न् are इत् and षक् takes the place of इ (VII. 1. 1, युवोरनाको). Thus नृन् + ष्वन् = नर्न् + षक् = नर्तकः 'a dancer' (by profession); fem. नर्तकी (IV. 1. 41, पितृरादिभ्यश्च 'words formed by affixes having an indicatory ष् take the affix ङीष् in the feminine.'): so also रजकः fem. रजकी.

The initial ष् of an affix only is इत् and not every initial ष्. Thus not in षोडः 'six,' or षडिकः ॥ The ष् must be initial, therefore it is not इत् in the affix टिषच् in अविमहोऽटिषच्. (Uṇ I. 45) as अविषः 'an ocean' महिषः 'a buffalo.'

षुट् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ षु-टू ( प्रत्ययस्य आदिः, इत् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चवर्गं इवर्गौ प्रत्ययस्यादी इत्स्वन्तो भवतः ॥

7. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

The consonants च्, छ्, ज्, झ्, ञ्, ढ्, ण्, ट्, ट्, and ष् are always इत् and are rejected when initial in affixes. The word 'affix' of the previous sūtra governs this also.

As the affix च्फम् chphañ in sūtra (IV. 1. 98 गोत्रे कञ्जादिभ्यश्चफम्). Here च् is indicatory, as, कौञ्जायन्यः ॥ The initial छ् chh of an affix is always replaced by ईय (VII. 1. 2 आयनेयीनीथियः फट् खच्छपां प्रत्ययादीनाम्). The initial ज् of an affix is इत्. As जन् (Nom. Pl. term.) ब्राह्मणाः ॥ The initial झ् of an affix is always replaced by अन्त, as भू + च्छप् + शि = भवन्ति ॥ (VII. 1. 3 झोऽन्तः). The initial ञ् of an affix is इत् as in ज्य which comes after the words चण्डिक &c. As चण्डिक्यः (IV. 3. 92 चण्डिकादिभ्योऽन्यः). The indicatory ञ् causes vṛddhi by rules VII. 2. 115, 116 and 117: (अचोऽगिति, अतउपधायाः, तद्धितेष्वचामादेः).

The initial ढ् of an affix is इत् as in III. 2. 16 (चरेटः the root चर् takes the affix ट् when compounded with a noun in the locative). As कुरुचरः 'who goes among the Kurus.' The feminine of words formed by this affix take ङीष् (IV. 1. 15 टिड्वाणम्भृदसञ् &c.) As कुरुचरी, मद्रचरी. The initial ढ् of an affix is always replaced by इक (VII. 3. 50 ढ्येकः.) The initial ढ् of an affix is इत्, as in III. 2. 97 (सप्तम्यां जनेडः the root जन् takes the affix ढ् when in composition

with a word in the locative, as उपसरजः, मन्दुरजः. The इ indicates that the final of the word called टि should be elided when an affix having indicatory ढ is added. The initial इ of an affix is replaced by एव (VII. 1. 2).

The letter ण् is always an इत् when initial. As in the aphorism IV. 4 85 (अज्ञास्तः) the affix ण् comes after the word भक्ष 'food.' As अज्ञ + ण् = अज्ञः. The ण causes Vṛiddhi.

This sūtra could very well have been included in the last aphorism. Why has it then been made a separate aphorism? The reply is that the present sūtra declares an anitya rule—that is to say, a rule which is not universally true. The initial palatal or lingual of every affix is not indicatory. Thus in the affixes चुञ्चुप् and चणप् the initial च् is not indicatory but forms part of the real affix. As विद्याबुञ्चुः विद्याचणः 'famous for one's learning.' See S. V. 2. 26 तेन वित्तभुञ्चुप् चणपौ. Similarly the initial ट् of the affix ट्डीट्च् (V. 2. 31 अवात्कुटारट्च्, नते नासिकायाः संतायां ट्डीट्च् नाट्च् भट्च्.), is not *it*. As अषट्डीट्च् 'flat nosed.'

Of course it is the initial palatal and lingual which are servile; if these letters occur in the middle of an affix, they will not be indicatory. As ट् of the affix भट्च् is not indicatory in sūtra V. 2. 35 (कर्मणि षटोऽट्च्) कर्मठः 'dexterous.'

लशङ्खतद्धिते ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल-श कु, अतद्धिते, (प्रत्ययस्य, आदिः इत्) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ तद्धितवर्जितस्य प्रत्ययस्याहितो वर्तमाना लकार शकार ऊवर्गा इत्संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

8. The initial l and ś, and the gutturals of all affixes, except taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial ल्, श्, क्, ख्, ग्, घ्, ङ् of affixes are indicatory, except in Taddhita affixes. Thus the initial ल् in ल्युट् is इत् (III. 3 115 ल्युट्च ! ल् + ल्युट् = चयनम् (VII. 1 1) 'collecting.' The initial श् in शप् is इत् (III. 1 68 कर्तेरि शप्) श् + शप् + तिप् = भो + भ + ति = भवति 'he is.' The initial क् is इत् as in क् and क्ववत् (I. 1. 26), as भुक्तः 'eating' भुक्तवान्. The initial ख् is इत् as in खच् (III. 2. 38 मियवक्षे वः खच् the word वक्ष takes the affix *khach* when compounded with मिय and वच्) मियवक्षः 'speaking kindly' वशवक्षः 'submissive.' The initial ग् is इत् as in the affix ग्स्वु (III. 2. 139 ग्नाजिस्यश्च ग्स्वु), ग्नास्वुः 'languid' जिष्णुः 'victorious,' स्यास्वुः 'unmoveable.' The initial घ् is इत् as in घुरच् (III. 2. 161 भञ्जभासमिहो घुरच्) भञ्ज + घुरच् = भञ्जुरम् 'brittle.' The initial ङ् is इत्, as in ङसि (termination of the ablative sing.) ङस् ditto of genitive sing. (IV. 1 2), as सुमनस् + ङस् = सुमनस् + अस् = सुमनसः 'of a well minded.' In Taddhita affixes however, these initials ल् श् and gutturals are not इत्; and are therefore not elided. Thus चूडा + लच् = चूडालः (V. 2. 96 प्राणिस्यादातो लजन्यतरस्याम्) 'crested'; लोम + च

= लोमसः (V. 2. 100 लोमादिपामादिपिच्छादिभ्यः घनेलङ्) 'hairy;' वृक्ष + कन् = वृक्षकः (V. 3. 81-86 आतिनाम्नः कन्) 'a small tree.'

तस्य लोपः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, लोपः, ( इत् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्खञ्जकस्य लोपो भवति ॥

9. Of this, (namely of that which has been called इत्), there is elision.

This sūtra declares the function of इत्; namely it is a mere indicatory letter, and must be rejected. It is useful only as a mnemonic and is not a part of the term.

The word tasya in the sūtra indicates that the substitution of lopa must be in the place of the whole term called इत्, and not only in the place of the final letter, which last is the general rule (see. I. 1 52). Therefore, the whole of त्रि, इ and इत् is rejected and not only their finals.

यथा सङ्ख्यानदेशः समानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-सङ्ख्य,  
अनुदेशः, समानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानां समसंख्यानानां समपरिपठितानामनुदेशिनामनुदेशिनां च यथा क्रममुद्देशेभिरनुदेशिना-  
सम्बन्धन्ते ॥

10. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Thus sūtra III. 1 134 (नन्दिमहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युण्णित्) declares:—'the affixes ल्यु, णिनि and अच् are applied to नन्दि, महि and पच् class of words.' It means the affix ल्यु is applied to the words of नन्दि class, the affix णिनि to words of महि class, and अच् to words of पच् class. The application must be respectively according to order, and not hap-hazard. Similarly in VI. 1 77 इको यणचि (if a vowel follows) in the place of इ, उ, ऋ, लृ there is यच् i. e., य्, र्, ल्, व् ॥ So also see S. IV. 3. 94 (तूदीघान्तानुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड् ढक् छप् ढञ् यकः) where the four affixes ḍhak, chhaṇ dhañ, and yak are applied respectively to the words tūdi, śalātura, varmatī and kūchavāra; i. e., the first affix in the order of enumeration to the first word, the second affix to the second word &c. As तूदीयः, घान्तानुरीयः, वर्मतेयः and कौचवार्ध्वः ॥

Why do we say 'of equal members'? This rule will not apply if the number of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted are unequal. As in sūtra I. 4. 90 लक्षणेत्यभूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रति पर्यन्तः for here the words lakṣhaṇa &c. in the first part of



the sūtra are four in number, while the words prati &c. are only three. That sūtra therefore must be read as thus. "The words प्रति, परि and अनु are karma-pravachaniya, whenever they indicate either lakshana (a mark), itthambhutā-khyāna (a statement of mere circumstance); bhāga (division); or vipsā (desire)."

स्वरितेनाधिकारः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितेन, अधिकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितो नाम स्वरविशेषो वर्णधर्मः तेन चिद्वेनाधिकारो वेदितव्यः ॥

11. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an adhikāra or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sūtras, there is any sūtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sūtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sūtras from the following.

As a rule, the sūtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sūtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sūtras, must evidently have svarita as they are governing sūtras; प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1.) धातौः (III. 1. 91), अङ्गस्य (VI. 4. 1), मस्व (VI. 4. 129).

अनुदात्तङ्कित आत्मनेपदम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्त-ङ्-इतः  
आत्मनेपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तेतो ये धातवो ङितश्च तेभ्य एव आत्मनेपदं भवति नान्येभ्यः ॥

12. After a root which has an indicatory anudātta vowel (anudāttet) or an indicatory ñ (ñit), the affixes are those of the Atmanepada.

The word 'atmanepada' here governs all the subsequent sūtras up to sū. 77 inclusive, and is understood in them all; and will not therefore be repeated. Thus of the verb आत् the final अ is anudātta and is इत्. It is therefore an ātmanepadi verb. As अस्ति. So पूङ्-सूने, षीङ् गते.

भावकर्मणोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-कर्मणोः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे कर्मणि आत्मनेपदम् भवति ॥

13. An atmanepada affix is the substitute of the affix ल (III. 4. 69) when it denotes the action of the verb or the object of the verb.

Sūtra III. 4. 69 declares the "letter ल (लङ्, लिट् &c.) is placed after transitive verbs in denoting the object also as well as the agent; and after intransitives in marking the condition (i. e., the action itself which the verb imports) also as well as the agent." The Paras. and Atman. affixes would

have come, therefore, generally after all these verbs. The present sūtra restricts Atman. affixes to bhāva and karma verbs.

This is clear. Impersonal verbs and passive verbs as a rule are conjugated in the Atmanepada and take the terminations of that pada. These originally were verbs expressive of states rather than of actions. As of भाव have ग्लायते भवता 'you dislike' (lit. 'it is disliked by you') सुष्यते भवता 'you sleep.' Similarly passive verbs as क्रियते कटः 'the mat is made'; हियते भारः 'the load is carried.'

All verbs in Sanskrit may have three voices *vis.* active, passive, and middle or impersonal; active voice is generally parasmaipada. The reflexive verbs known as कर्मकर्तरि are also Atmanepadi. Thus लुयते केशरः स्वयमेव 'the wood cuts of itself.' See sūtra 78.

कर्त्तरि कर्म व्यतिहारे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, कर्म-व्यातिहारे ॥ ( आत्मनेपदम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्म व्यतिहारे तद्विशिष्ट क्रिया वचनाद्वातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

14. In denoting the agent, when reciprocity of action is to be expressed, the affixes of the Atmanepada are employed.

The active or कर्तृवाच्य verbs when denoting reciprocal action are Atmanepadi. As, व्यतिपचन्ते, 'they cook for each other,' व्यतिलुन्ते 'he performs cutting of wood which was the appropriate office of another.'

The words "reciprocity or interchange of action" of this sūtra govern and are understood in the two following sūtras also.

The word karma in the sūtra means action and not the technical 'karma' meaning 'object' and the word vyatihāra means reciprocity or interchange. When an action which was appropriate to one person is performed by another, whose duty it was not, that is called 'interchange of action.' When such interchange is not meant Paras. is used. As लुनन्ति 'they cut.' The word kartari here is used for the sake of the subsequent aphorism 78, which see.

न गति हिंसार्थेभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गति-हिंसा-अर्थेभ्यः ॥ ( आत्मनेपदम् कर्मव्यतिहारे ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो हिंसार्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः कर्म व्यतिहारे आत्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिषेधो हसादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हरतेरप्रतिषेधः ॥

15. After verbs having the sense of 'motion,' or 'injury,' when expressing interchange of action the Atmanepada affixes are not used.

This aphorism prohibits Atmanepada affixes in certain cases where by force of the last sūtra Atmanepada affixes would have been obtained. As व्यतिगच्छन्ति 'they go against each other,' व्यतिहिंसन्ति 'they injure each other.' व्यतिगच्छन्ति 'they fight together.'

The word 'not' of this sūtra is understood in the subsequent sūtra.

*Vart.*—This prohibition extends to the verbs हस् 'to laugh,' and the rest. As व्यतिहसन्ति, व्यतिजल्पन्ति, व्यतिपठन्ति ॥

*Vart.*—Prohibition must be made of the verbs हरति 'to injure,' as संपहरन्ते राजानः ॥

इतरेतरान्योन्योपपदाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतर-इतर,

अन्यः-अन्यः, उपपदात्, च, ( कर्मव्यय० आत्मने० न ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतरेतरोऽन्योन्य इत्येवमुपपदाद्धातोः कर्मव्यतिहारे आत्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परस्परौपपदाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. And after the verbs which take the words itaretara 'each other,' and anyonya 'one another,' as upapada (or dependant qualifying words), the affixes of Atmanepada are not used, though reciprocity of action be denoted.

Thus इतरेतरस्य व्यति लुनन्ति 'they cut each other' अन्योन्यस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति 'they cut one another.'

*Vart.*—This rule must also be applied when the word परस्पर is in composition with the verb, as an upapada. As परस्परस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति.

नेविशः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, विशः, ( आत्मनेपदम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेः परस्माद् विश आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

17. After the verb viś 'to enter,' when preceded by the preposition ni, the Atmanepada affixes are employed.

As विशति 'he enters,' but निविशते 'he enters in.'

Even when the augment अद् of the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional tenses intervenes between the root and the preposition, terminations are of the ātmanepada. As न्यविशत् 'he entered in.'

The नि of the sūtra must be an upasarga, because that has a sense, and not any नि. On this there is this paribhāṣā:—अर्थवद्महणे नानर्थकस्य "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning." Thus in मधुनि विशन्ति भ्रमराः 'the beetles enter the honey flowers.'

Here the नि is a part of the word मयुनि and has no sense by itself, and therefore the verb is in the Parasmaipada and not in the Atmanepada.

परिठयवेभ्यः क्रियः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-वि-अवेभ्यः, क्रियः,

( आ० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिव्यवेभ्य उत्तरान् क्रीणान्तेराल्मनेपदं भवति ॥

18. After the verb क्री 'to purchase,' when preceded by pari, vi or ava, the Atmanepada affix is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb डुक्रीम् 'to buy or barter,' has an indicatory ञ् and therefore, by sūtra 72 it will be Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra, therefore, refers to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root क्री 'to buy' as a general rule takes the terminations of both padas, but when it is preceded by pari, vi, or ava, it is restricted to Atmanepada terminations. As प्ररीक्रीणीते 'he buys'; विक्रीणीते 'he sells'; अक्वक्रीणीते 'he buys.'

The word pari, vi, and ava must be upasargas, therefore, in the following example, there is no Atmanepada termination, because the vi there, is not a preposition but a noun, as, बहुविक्रीणाति वनम्.

विपराभ्यां जेः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपराभ्याम्, जेः ( आ० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि परा पूर्वाञ्जयतेर्धातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

19. After the verb जि 'to conquer,' preceded by vi or parā, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

This sūtra debaras S. 78 by which the root जि is generally Parasmaipadi.

As विजयते 'he conquers' पराजयते 'he conquers.' The words vi and parā must be upasargas (prepositions), for the application of this rule. In the following examples, they are used as substantives बहुविजयति वनम्, परा जयति सेना ॥

आङो दोऽनास्य विहरणे ॥ २० ॥ पदानिः ॥ आङः, दः, अनास्य-विहरणे, ( आ० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वाह्वारेरनास्यविहरणे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आस्यविहरणसमानक्रितादपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वाङ् कर्मकाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

20. After the verb *dâ* 'to give,' preceded by *ân*, and when not meaning 'to open the mouth,' the *Atmanepada* affix is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root *दा* is generally both *Parasmaipadi* and *Atmanepadi* (see S. 72). But when preceded by the preposition *आ*, it is restricted to the *Atmanepada*. As *विद्यामादत्ते* 'he acquires knowledge.' But when it means "to widen the mouth" whether actually or metaphorically, it is *parasmaipadi*. As *आखं व्याददाति*. 'He expands his own mouth.'

*Vart*:—The prohibition also applies when the action is similar to the act of opening the mouth. As *विपादिकां व्याददाति* 'he opens the tumour.' *कूलं व्याददाति नदी* 'the river breaks the bank.'

*Vart*:—When the action does not affect the agents' own body the verb is *Atmanepadi*, as *व्याददतेपिसीनिकाः पतंगस्य मुखम्*, 'the ants open the mouth of a locust.'

क्रीडोऽनुसंपरिभ्यश्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीडः , अनु-सम्-परिभ्यः , च , ( आङ् : , आत्मने प० )

श्रुतिः ॥ क्रीडु विहारे एतस्माद् अनुसम्परि इत्येवं पूर्वार् आङ् पूर्वाद्यात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समोऽकृजने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आगमेः क्षमायामात्मने पदं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शिक्षोऽज्ञासायाम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आशिषिनाथः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हरतेर्गतताच्छील्ये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किरतेर्हर्षजीविका कुजायकरणेऽपि वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङ्निमुप्रच्छोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शप उपालम्भन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

21. After the verb *krîd* 'to play' preceded by *anu*, *sam* or *pari*, as well as *ân*, the *Atmanepada* affix is used.

The word "आङ्" is to be read into the *sûtra* by virtue of the conjunction *च* in the text. As *आक्रीडते संक्रीडते अनुक्रीडते*, or *परिक्रीडते* 'he plays.'

*Vart*.—When the verb *क्रीडु* compounded with *सम्* means 'to make a rattling or creaking noise,' it does not take *Atmanepada* terminations. As *संक्रीडन्ति शकटानि* 'the carts rattle or creak.' The word *anu*, *pari* &c., being taught along with *sam*, indicates that the *upasargas anu*, *pari* &c., are to be taken, and not the *karmapravachaniya anu pari* &c. Therefore, when these prefixes are used as *karmapravachaniya*, they do not cause the verb *क्रीडु* to

take the âtmanepada terminations as माणवकमनुक्रीडति । 'he plays in imitation of the boy.' For the definition and action of karmapravachanīya, see. I. 4. 83 and II. 3. 8.

*Vart.*—The verb भागन् takes the âtmanepada terminations when meaning 'to wait for', 'to over look' 'to have patience' as, आगनयस्व सावन् माणवकम् । 'Have patience with the boy.'

*Vart.*—The verb शिक्ष takes âtmanepada terminations, when meaning 'to enquire':—as, विद्यासु शिक्षते 'he investigates sciences.

*Vart.*—The verb नाथ् when meaning 'to bless,' takes âtmanepada terminations, as, सर्पियो नाथते 'he blesses with clarified butter.' मधुनो नाथते । Why do we say 'when meaning to bless?' Observe, माणवकमनुनाथति, 'he begs of Manavaka.'

*Vart.*—The verb हरति takes âtmanepada terminations when meaning 'to take after the nature of the parents.' As पैदकमश्वा अनुहरन्ते 'the horses resemble their father.' मादकं गावोऽनुहरन्ते 'the cows always imitate their mother.' But when not having this meaning, we have मातुरनुहरति 'he resembles his mother.'

*Vart.*—The verb किरति takes âtmanepada terminations when meaning 'to scratch out or scatter with joy, for abode or food.' As अपस्किरते बृषभो हृष्टः 'the happy bull scratches with joy.' अपस्किरते कुक्कुशे भक्षार्थी 'the cock scratches in search of food,' अपस्किरते श्वाऽऽभयार्थी 'the dog scratches to make his abode.' When not having these senses we have अपस्किरति कुसुमम् 'he scatters about the flowers.' The dental स in apaskirate is added by sūtra VI. 1. 142. अपाद्यनुष्पाच्छ कुनिष्वालेखने ॥

*Vart.*—The verbs नु 'to cry' and प्रच्छ 'to ask' take the âtmanepada terminations when preceded by the preposition आङ्, as आनुते शृगालः 'the jackal howls.' आपृच्छते गुरुम् 'he questions the Guru.'

*Vart.*—The verb शप् when meaning 'to touch the body by the word' takes âtmanepada affixes. As देवदत्ताय शपते 'he promises by oath to Devadatta.' Otherwise we have शपति 'he curses.'

समवप्रविभ्य स्यः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-अव-प्र-विभ्यः, स्यः ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ सम् अव प्र वि इत्येवं पूर्वान् तिष्ठते रात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङः स्यः प्रतिज्ञान इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. After the verb sthâ 'to stand,' preceded by sam, ava, pra, vi, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As संतिष्ठते 'he stays with,' अवतिष्ठते 'he waits patiently,' प्रतिष्ठते 'he sets forth,' वितिष्ठते 'he stands apart.'

*Vart.*—The verb स्या when preceded by स्याद् and meaning 'solemn declaration' takes âtmanepada terminations; as भस्ति संस्कारमात्रमातिष्ठते ॥ Or to take another example, जलं विद्यं वा तव कारणादास्यास्ये 'for thee I shall surely have recourse to water or poison.'

प्रकाशनस्येयाख्ययोश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकाशन-स्येय-आख्ययोः,  
च, ( स्या, आत्मने० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकाशने स्येयाख्यायां च तिष्ठतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

23. After the verb sthâ when meaning 'to indicate one's intentions to another,' or 'to make an award as an arbitrator,' the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word prakâśana means disclosing one's intentions. The word stheyâkhya is a compound of stheya 'arbitrator' and âkhya 'name.'

As तिष्ठते ज्ञायापत्ये 'the wife expresses her wish to the husband,' स्ववितिष्ठते, 'he refers to thee for settlement,' संशय्य कर्णादिषु तिष्ठते च, 'who, when he is in doubt, has recourse to Karna as his judge or umpire.'

उदोऽनूर्ध्वकर्मणि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, अनूर्ध्व-कर्मणि,  
( स्या, आत्मनेपदम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् पूर्वात् तिष्ठते रनूर्ध्वकर्मणि वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उद् ईहायापिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. After the verb sthâ, preceded by ut, when not meaning 'to get up or rise,' as from a seat; the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word 'karma' in this aphorism means 'action,' and does not mean the grammatical karma or 'object.'

As गृहे उत्तिष्ठते 'he strives for the house' so also कुटुम्बे उत्तिष्ठते ॥ But भासनादुत्तिष्ठति 'he rises up from the seat.'

*Vart.*—The force of the preposition ut must be to express ईहा, 'effort, exertion, wish or desire, to surprise or excell.' If this be not the force of ut, the terminations are those of the Parasmaipada. As स्याद् शतान् शतमुत्तिष्ठति 'a hundred is yielded by this village.' The word ईहा qualifies the word 'anûrdhakarmaṇi,' and does not debar the latter.

उपात्मन्त्रकरणे ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, मन्त्र-करणे, ( स्या,  
आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात् तिष्ठतेर्मन्त्रकरणेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपादेवपूजासंगति करणमिनी करणपथिष्विति वाच्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वा लिप्सायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

25. After the verb *sthâ*, preceded by *upa*, when meaning 'to adore,' the *Atmanepada* affix is used.

As ऐन्द्रागार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते 'he approaches with prayers or worships the *Gârhapatya* fire with *aindra* hymns.'

If it does not mean 'praising with hymns' the terminations which the verb takes, are those of the *Parasmaipada*, as भर्तारमुपतिष्ठति यौवनेन 'she approaches the husband through youth.'

*Vart.*—The verb *स्था* after the preposition *उप* takes the terminations of the *âtmanepada* when meaning 'worshipping a deity,' 'to approach for intercourse or uniting or joining,' 'to form friendship with,' and 'to lead to as a way.' Thus:—1st *Deva puja* आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते 'he worships the *Aditya*.' 2. *Sangati karaṇa* पत्निमुपतिष्ठते नारी 'the wife approaches the husband,' रथिकानुपतिष्ठते 'forms union with charioteers.' 3. *Mitri karaṇa* सन्तमुपतिष्ठते सायुः 'the good man approaches the saints to make friends with.' What is the difference between *Sangati-karaṇa* and *Mitri-karaṇa*? *Sangati-karaṇa* means drawing near and approaching together in space, as गंगायमुनामुपतिष्ठते 'the *Ganges* joins the *Jumna*.' While the friendly relations may be established without coming in physical contact. 4. *Patha*:—अथ पन्थाः स्रुतमुपतिष्ठते 'this road leads to *Srughna*.'

*Vart.*—It must be stated that the *Atmanepada* is optional when the sense is 'desire of getting.' As भिक्षुको ब्राह्मणकुलमुपतिष्ठते or उपतिष्ठति 'a beggar waits at the palace of a *Brahmana* with the desire of getting something.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात् , च, (उप स्या आ०प०)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात् तिष्ठतेरकर्मकादकर्मकक्रियावचनाशास्त्रनेपथं भवति ॥

26. After the verb *sthâ*, preceded by *upa*, when used intransitively, the *Atmanepada* affix is used.

As भोजनकाले उपतिष्ठते 'he stands ready at the time of dinner,' यावद्भुक्तमुपतिष्ठते 'he is present whenever it is dinner time,' यावद्दोदनमुपतिष्ठते 'he is present whenever there is food, that is he comes at the time of dinner.' The word *bhukta* is formed by adding the affix *kta* to the root, and has the force of 'condition' here.

The phrase 'when used in the Intransitive' governs the three succeeding *sûtras* also.

If it is transitive; the verb *upasthâ* takes the *parasmaipada* terminations. As राजानमुपतिष्ठते 'he approaches the king.'

उद्दिभ्यां तपः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्-विभ्याम् , तपः , ( अकर्मकात् आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् विद्भ्येवं पूर्वात् तपतेरकर्मकक्रियावचनाशास्त्रनेपथं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वाङ्ग कर्मकाश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥



27. After the verb *tapa* 'to shine,' when used intransitively, and preceded by *ut* or *vi* the *Atmanepada* affix is employed.

As उत्पत्ते or वितपते विद्यया विद्यार्थी 'The scholar shines with knowledge.' But in transitive verbs, it is *Parasmaipadi*. As उत्पति सुवर्णसुवर्णकारः, 'the goldsmith heats the gold,' वितपति पृष्ठं सविता 'the sun heats the back.'

*Vart.*—It must be stated that the terminations are of the *âtmanepada*, though the verb *ut-tapa* or *vi tapa* be transitive, when the object is some limb of one's own body. As उत्पतेपाणिम् or वितपतेपाणिम् or पृष्ठं 'he heats his own hand or back' The word स्वाङ्गः means one's own body and not the *pârîbhâshika* or the technical स्वाङ्गः meaning "a thing which not being liquid or gaseous and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being and though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being." (See IV. 1. 54 स्वाङ्गाद्योपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात्). Therefore not so in the following देवदत्तो यज्ञवत्सस्य पृष्ठमुत्पति 'Devadatta heats the back of Yajñadatta. When the preposition is other than *ut* or *vi*, *parasmaipada* affix is employed ; as, निष्टपति.

आङोयमहनः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, यम-हनः, ( अकर्मकात्  
आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यम उपरमे, हन हिंसागत्योः । ताभ्यामकर्मकक्रिया वचनाभ्यामाङ् पूर्वाभ्यामात्मने-  
पदं भवति ॥

28. After the verb *yam* 'to stop,' and *han* 'to injure' when used intransitively and preceded by *ân*, the *Atmanepada* affix is employed.

The word intransitive of *s. 26* is understood here also. Both these verbs are generally *parasmaipadi*. When they take the affix *च्चा* they become *âtmanepadi*. *Yam* belongs to *Bhvâdi* class; and *han* to *Adâdi* class. Thus आ + यम् + च्च् + ते = आ + यच्छ + अते (VII. 3. 77 इषुगमियमां छः 'chh is the substitute of the finals of *ish*, *gam* and *yam*, when an affix having an indicative च् follows) = आयच्छते 'it spreads.' आयच्छते and आयच्छन्ते; so also आ + हन् + ते = आ + ह + ते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 37 अनुदात्तोपदेशवन्नतितनोस्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपोऽन्तिक्ङिति) = आहते, 'he strikes.' आ = हन् + आते = आ + हन् + आते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 98 सार्वधानुकमपित् गमहनजनखनयसां जोषः क्ङि त्यनङि) = आपाते (VII. 3. 54), (हो हन्तेप्-  
मिञ्चु) Pl. आहते.

Not so when these verbs are used in the transitive, as आयच्छति कुपाद्-  
ञ्जुम् 'he draws up the rope from the well,' आहन्ति वृषलं पादेन 'they kill the sinner with the foot.'

*Vart.*—When the object is some member of the agent's own body these verbs take the Atmanepada terminations though transitive. As आयच्छते पाणिम् 'he puts forth his own hand.' आहते शिरं 'he hurts his own head.' When the object is some limb of another's body, the terminations are of the Parasmaipada, as आहन्ति शिरः परकीयं 'they hurt others head.'

समोऽगसृच्छिप्रच्छिखरत्यतिश्रुविदिभ्यः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः,  
गमि-ऋच्छि-प्रच्छि-खरति-भर्त्ति-श्रु-विदिभ्यः, ( अकर्म० आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वेभ्यो गमि ऋच्छि प्रच्छि खरति अतिश्रुविदिभ्येतेभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः  
आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृशेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. After the verbs gam 'to go,' richchh 'to become hard,' prachchh 'to ask,' svar 'to find fault,' ri 'to go,' śrū 'to hear,' and vid 'to know,' when used intransitively and preceded by sam, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The above seven verbs when preceded by the preposition सम् and used in the intransitive, take the terminations of the Atmanepada. As संगच्छते (VII. 3. 77) 'he joins,' समृच्छते 'he becomes hard or goes.' संपृच्छते 'he asks,' संस्वर्त्ते he 'blames,' समरन्त 'they are attained.' In the case of this last verb which belongs both to Bhvādi and Juhūtyādi class it is Atmanepadi only in the Aorist. As सम् + ऋ + भङ् + त (III. 1. 56 सर्त्तिद्यास्यति-यथ) = समृत, as नां समृत (VI. 4. 75 बहुलं चन्द्रस्यमाङ्गयोगेऽपि) सम् + ऋ + भङ् + अन्त = समरन्त (VII. 4. 16 ऋद्दृशोऽङ्गिगुणः). This occurs generally in the Vedas. The verb विद् must have the meaning of 'to know,' and not that of 'to acquire.' संगृणुते 'he hears,' संविस्ते 'he knows.'

*Vart.*—The root दृश् (to see) after the preposition सम् when used intransitively takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as संप्रयते 'he sees.' But when transitive, it takes Parasmaipada terminations as माम् संप्रयति 'he sees the town.'

निसमुपविभ्यो ह्वः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-सम्-उप-विभ्यः, ह्वः,  
(आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निसम उप वि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् ह्वयतेर्द्धातोऽत्मानेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपसर्गादस्यस्यूहोर्षा वचनम् ॥

30. After the verbs hve 'to call,' preceded by ni, sam, upa, and vi, the Atmanepada is used, even, when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb ह्वे 'to call' whether transitive or intransitive is Atmanepadī after the above prepositions. The condition of being Intransitive does not apply to this sūtra, and from this sūtra forward general rules of Atmanepada are treated of. As निद्रयते, संद्रयते, उपद्रयते ॥

The verb ह्वे is marked in the Dhātupāṭha with a ऋ and therefore by sūtra 72 of this Chapter, it will take the terminations of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. But even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the verb hve takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by the above prefixes.

*Vart.*—The verbs अस् 'to throw' and ऊह् 'to note' take optionally Atmanepada affixes when compounded with upasargas. As निरस्यति—ते 'he casts out,' समहति—ते 'he collects.'

स्पर्द्धायानाडः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पर्द्धायान्, आडः, (ह्वः  
आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पर्द्धायां विषये आड् पूर्वर्ह्वयतेरालनेपदं भवति ॥

31. After the verb hve, when meaning 'to challenge' and preceded by अङ्, the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As मल्लो मल्लामाह्वयते 'an athlete challenges another athlete (in order to conquer him)' छात्रश्छात्रमाह्वयते 'one student emulates with another student.'

This sūtra is also for the purpose of showing that the root hve takes the Atmanepada terminations even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word spardhā means to emulate, to vie, to desire to conquer another. When the verb hve has not the above signification, it takes the terminations of the parasmaipada. As गामाह्वयति गोपालः 'the cowherd calls the cows.'

गन्धनावक्षेपणसेवनसाहसिक्यप्रतियत्नप्रकथनोपयोगेषु कृजः ॥ ३२ ॥  
पदानि ॥ गन्धन-अवक्षेपण-सेवन-साहसिक्य-प्रतियत्न-प्रकथनउपयोगेषु, कृजः,  
(आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गन्धनादिष्वर्थेषु वर्त्तमानात् करोतेरालनेपदं भवति ॥

32. After the verb kri when meaning 'to divulge,' 'to revile,' 'to serve,' 'to use violence,' 'to cause change,' 'to recite,' and 'to do an act tending to effect a desired purpose,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb कृञ् by sūtra 72 would take the affixes of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This sūtra has been begun to show that this verb takes the Atmanepada terminations under certain circumstances even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word gandhana comes from the root gandh 'to injure,' of churādi class and means to inform against another maliciously with the object of injuring such person. Avakshepana means 'to revile' 'to over-come,' sevana means 'to obey and serve,' sāhasikya means 'an act of violence,' pratiyatna means 'imparting a new quality or virtue,' prakathana means 'to narrate fully,' upayoga means 'the disposal of a thing for the object of attaining merit &c.'

Thus उरकुरुते, उदाकुरुते means he informs against (2) श्येनो वर्तिकामुदाकुरुते 'the hawk overcomes or reviles a snail' (3) गणकानुपकुरुते 'he serves the prostitutes,' महामात्रानुकुरुते 'he serves the mahamatra.' (4). परदारान् प्रकुरुते 'he outrages another's wife.' (5). एधोदकस्योपस्कुरुते 'the fuel gives a new quality (boils) to the water (or he prepares the wood and water for a sacrifice).' The object of the verb कृि takes the affix of the sixth case i. e. genitive, only when the verb means pratiyatna, see S. II. 3. 53 (कृञः प्रतियत्रे) । Therefore udakasya, though an object, has genitive form. The verb takes the augment सुद् only when it is preceded by upa and signifies pratiyatna see VI. 1. 139. (उपान् प्रतियत्र वैकृत वाक्याभ्याहारेषु) ॥ Therefore, there is the insertion of sibilant in upaskurute. (5). गाथाः प्रकुरुते 'he recites stories,' जनापवादान् प्रकुरुते 'he recites slander.' (6). शतं प्रकुरुते 'he devotes a hundred' pieces of money, for the sake of merit. सहस्रं प्रकुरुते he devotes a thousand.

Why do we say in these senses? Witness कटं करोति 'he makes a mat.' In this case the Atmanepada affix is not employed.

The verb कृि is understood in the three succeeding sūtras.

अधेः प्रसहने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधेः, प्रसहने, (कृञः आ० प०) ॥

इत्तिः ॥ अधि पूर्वान् करोतेः प्रसहने वर्त्तमानाशम्भनेपदं भवति ॥

33. After the verb कृि preceded by adhi, when the sense is that of 'overcoming or defeat,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra is commenced to show that कृि may take the Atmanepada affix even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word prasahana means 'to over come, to be not defeated.' As तनयिचक्रे 'he overcame him or he was not defeated by him.'

Why do we say, 'in the sense of to overcome?' Witness अर्थमधिकरोति 'he learns the meaning' in which example the Atmanepada affix is not employed.

The necessity of making a separate sūtra of this rule, instead of including it in the last apporism, arose with the object of giving a distinctive meaning to the prefix adhi.

वेः शब्दकर्मणः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, शब्द- कर्मणः, (कृजः  
आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वान् करोतेरकर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले शब्दकर्मण आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

34. After the verb *kṛi* preceded by *vi*, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, and when the sense is that of 'making sound,' (literally, having 'sound' for its object) the Atmanepada is employed.

The word *karma* in the sūtra indicates objective case or *kāraka*; and does not express 'action,' as in some previous sūtras such as 24 ante.

As क्रोडा विकुरुते स्वरात् 'the birds are making noise,' ध्वान्तो विकुरुते स्वरात् ॥

The word *vi* governs the succeeding sūtra.

Why do we say "when governing a word expressive of sound in the objective case"? Witness चित्तं विकरोति कामः 'love affects the mind.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च, (कृजः  
आ० प० वेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वान् करोतेरकर्मकात्कर्मकाक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

35. After the verb *kṛi* preceded by *vi*, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada is used.

As विकुर्वन्ते सैन्धवा 'the horse<sup>s</sup> move gracefully,' ओदनस्य पूर्णरिज्जना विकुर्वन्ते 'the students being full of food are acting as they will or are aimlessly wandering about.'

संमाननीतुष्ट्यनाधार्यकरणज्ञानभृतिविगणनव्ययेषु नियः ॥ ३६ ॥  
पदानि ॥ संमानन-उत्सृज्जन-आधार्यकरण-ज्ञान-भृति-विगणन-व्ययेषु, नियः,  
(आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णीञ्, प्रापणे इत्येतस्माद्धातोर्कर्त्रभिप्रायेक्रियाफलैरात्मनेपदं भवति, सम्माननारिषु विशेषेषु चरमु ॥

36. After the verb *nī* 'to lead,' when used in the sense of 'to guide so as to render the person guided worthy,' 'to lift up,' 'to make one a spiritual guide,' 'to determine the true sense,' 'to employ on wages,'

‘to pay as debt,’ and ‘to give as in charity,’ even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the Atmanepada is used.

This sūtra is begun in order to show that the verb नी may take the terminations of the Atmanepada, even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, in the following cases, *viz.*, when it means to ‘respect’ &c.

Saṁmānana means to respect; as नयते चार्वी लोकायते ‘the Chārvi gives instruction in the Lokāyata śāstra.’ The word chārvi primarily means intelligence, and by secondary use it has been extended to the preceptor also, such a preceptor gives instruction in Lokāyata Śāstra, that is to say, having established the truth of the doctrines of that philosophy by argumentation, imparts them to the pupils. Those doctrines being thus established by reason, become respected (Saṁmānitā) and honored.

Utsañjana, ‘to throw up, or lift up,’ as माणवकमुपनयते ‘he lifts up Manavaka.’

Achārya-karaṇa ‘acting as a teacher,’ that is to say, to bring a boy near oneself in such a way, that being so brought near (upa-neta), he may himself become an achārya. As माणवकमुपनयते ‘he initiates Manavaka (*i. e.*, making himself the preceptor he brings the boy near himself.)’

Jñāna means ‘knowledge, a demonstrated verity.’ As नयते चार्वी लोकायते ‘the Chārvi investigates the truth of the Lokāyata doctrine.’

Bhṛiti means ‘wages.’ As कर्मकारानुपनयते ‘he employs the servants on hire or wages.’

Vigaṇana means the paying off as a tribute, debts &c. As मद्रा कर्तं विनयन्ते, ‘the Madras pay the tax due to the king, that is, they discharge the debt.’

Vyaya means ‘allotment of money on works of merit &c.’ As शतं विनयते ‘he expends a hundred pieces on religious acts.’ सहस्रं विनयते ‘he devotes a thousand.’

Why do we say, in these senses? Witness अजां नयति ग्रामम् ‘he carries the goat to the village’ Here there is no Atmanepada affix, as the verb has not any one of the above significations.

कर्तृस्थे चाशरीरे कर्मणि ॥३७॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृस्थे, च, अशरीरे, कर्मणि, (नियः आ० प०) ॥

इति ॥ नयतेः कर्ताद्वेदत्तादिलकाराद्यध्वः कर्तृस्थे कर्मण्यशरीरे सति नयतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

37. After the verb नी, when it governs an incorporeal object existing in the agent, as its object, the Atmanepada is used.

The verb नी is Atmanepadi when governing an object which has no material body, but is an abstract noun, that is an object which has abstract but no concrete existence; and when such an object has its seat in a portion of the agent of the verb. As क्रोधं विनयते 'he subdues his own anger,' मन्द्यु विनयते 'he suppresses anger.'

The word śarīra means the body of living beings, any portion of such body is also called śarīra.

The object must reside in the agent, (kartṛiṣṭha), otherwise the verb will be parasmaipadi. As देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य क्रोधं विनयति 'Devadatha removes Yajnadatta's anger.'

The object moreover must be immaterial, otherwise the affix will be of parasmaipada. As गङ्गुं विनयति 'he removes his own wort.' घात्रं विनयति 'he bows his neck.'

Why do we say 'in the case of an object?' Witness बुद्ध्या विनयति 'he is submissive through knowledge,' प्रज्ञया विनयति. Here the verb विनयति has not taken an accusative case, but is in construction with an instrumental case, and therefore the present rule does not apply.

वृत्तिर्गतायनेषु क्रमः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृत्ति-सर्ग-तायनेषु,  
क्रमः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुद्ध्यादिष्वयेषु क्रमेर्धातोरालनेपदे भवति ॥

38. After the verb kram 'to move' when used, in the senses of 'continuity,' 'energy' and 'development,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The word 'kram' governs the succeeding sūtraṣ up to 43 and is understood in them all.

The verb kram by sūtra I. 3. 78 (after the rest, let the parasmaipada affixes be employed in marking the agent), would have taken the affixes of the parasmaipada; the present aphorism enjoins Atmanepada affixes in certain cases when the verb means to have a taste for &c.

Vṛitti 'continuity' means unobstructed, or want of interruption (*i. e.*, a taste for, or facility in, anything), 'sarga energy' means application resolution and determination. Tāyana 'development' means increase and growth.

As (1) ऋद्धस्य क्रमते बुद्धिः—'his reason proceeds unobstructed through the Rig. scriptures *i. e.*, he can easily comprehend the Rig.' (2). व्याकरणाध्ययनाय क्रमते 'the pupil shows energy or exerts to study the grammar.' (3). षस्मिन् शास्त्राणि क्रमन्ते 'the shastras are developed in him.'

Why in these senses only? Witness अपक्रामति 'he runs away.'

उपपराभ्याम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-पराभ्याम्, (वृत्तिसर्गता-  
यनेपुक्तमः आः ५०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपरापूर्वात् क्रमतेवृत्त्याद्विष्वयेषु वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

39. After the verb kram, preceded by upa and para, when used in the senses of continuity, energy and development, the Atmanepada is employed.

The words vṛitti &c., of the last sūtra are understood here also. Why has this been made a separate sūtra and not included in the last? The reason is to make a restrictive rule in the cases of upasargas; that is to say, only in the cases of the upasargas upa and parā, there is ātmanepada affix; but not so when any other upasarga precedes the verb kram, though the sense may be of continuity &c., Thus उपक्रमते 'he commences to advance,' पराक्रमते 'he marches to attack.'

Why do we say after the upasargas 'upa and parā'? Because, after any other preposition the affix will be of the parasmaipada; as संक्रामति 'he makes progress.' If the sense is not that of "continuity" &c., parasmaipada will be employed, as उपक्रामति, पराक्रामति.

आङ्चद्गमने ॥४०॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, उद्गमने (क्रमः, आ० ५०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वात् क्रमते रुद्गमने वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ ज्योतिरुद्गमने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

40. After the verb kram, preceded by āñ, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of the rising of a luminary.

As आक्रमते सूर्यः 'the sun rises.' आक्रमते चन्द्रमाः 'the moon rises' आक्रमन्ते ज्योतीषि 'the stars rise.'

Vart.—This ascending must refer to heavenly bodies. Therefore in आक्रामति धूमोहस्यंतलात्, 'the smoke rises from the surface of the terrace,' the verb क्रम is parasmaipadi. Why do we say in the sense of "to ascend"? Witness आक्रमति माणवकः कुतपम् 'the boy assails the ox.' *steps on the great-horned ox*

वेः पादविहरणे ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, पाद-विहरणे, ( क्रमः  
आ० ५० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूर्वात् क्रमतेः पादविहरणेषु वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

41. After the verb kram, preceded by vi, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of 'placing of foot-steps.'

As वाजी विक्रमते 'the horse is pacing.' The term vikramaṇa is applied to the special movements of horse &c.



Though in the Dhâtupāṭha (catalogue of verbal roots), the verb कृञि and कृन्वु have the meanings of pāda-vihāraṇa and pāda-vikshepa, that is "throwing or placing of foot," and so it might be objected that the present sūtra is a useless repetition, yet as verbs have various other meanings than what is assigned to them in the dhâtupāṭha, the present sūtra is not unnecessary.

Why do we say "in the sense of throwing of foot"? In any other sense, the terminations will be those of the parasmaipada. As विक्रामति भजिनसन्धिः the fold of the antelope skin is <sup>again</sup>ruptured.

प्रोपाभ्यां सन्धीभ्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-उपाभ्याम्, सन्धी-भ्याम्, ( कृञः आ० प० ) ॥

शुक्तः ॥ प्र उप इत्येताभ्यां परलोत् क्रमतेरालनेपसं भवति ॥

42. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is employed when it is preceded by pra and upa, both conveying the same sense; viz. that of "beginning an action."

As प्रक्रमते भोक्तुम्, उपक्रमते भोक्तुम् 'he commences to eat' &c.

The prefixes pra and upa are synonyms, when they denote the commencement of an action.

Why do we say, "when they are synonyms." Witness the following पूर्वेषुः प्रक्रामति अपरेषुः उपक्रामति 'he goes during the first part of the day and he comes back during the latter part of the day.' Here in one case the sense is "to go," in another it means "to return."

Why in the latter case of 'aparedyur upakramati' there is not Atmanepada by virtue of sūtra 39 ante, as there is the upasarga upa here? The answer is that Rule 39 is not applicable, as that rule is limited by the condition of the sense of 'continuity' &c. while in the present sūtra, that limitation is not applicable.

अनुपसर्गाद्वा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-उपसर्गात्, वा (कृञः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गं विशुक्तात् क्रमतेरालनेपसं भवति ॥

43. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is optionally employed, when it is not preceded by any preposition.

The root 'kram' may always be conjugated as Atmanepadi when not having any upasarga. The upasarga will be defined in I. 4. 59. The option allowed by this sūtra is an example of what is technically known as aprāpta vibhāsā viz., an option which is not an alternative limitation to a general rule already found or known.

Examples: क्रमते or क्रामति 'he goes over.' Why do we say 'when it is without any preposition?' For no option is allowed when it takes preposition. As संक्रामति.

अपह्नवे च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपह्नवेः, चः, ( आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरपह्नवे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

44. After the verb *jña*, when used in the sense of 'denying,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The root *jña* which ordinarily means 'to know' and is parasmaipadi by rule 78, becomes Atmanepadi when through the virtue of any prefix it means 'to deceive:' as अपजानीते 'he deceives,' शतमपजानीते 'he denies the debt of a hundred rupees,' सहस्रमपजानीते 'denies a thousand.'

Why do we say when meaning 'to deny?' observe:—नखं किंचिदपि जानासि 'thou knowest not anything.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च (चः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरकर्मकात्कर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

45. And when used intransitively, after the verb *jña*, the Atmanepada is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As सर्पिषो जानीते मधुनो जानीते 'he engages in sacrifice by means of clarified butter or honey.' (See II. 3. 51).

This Atmanepadi form of *jña* is employed when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. From sūtra 76 it will be seen that when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the verb is Atmanepadi.

How in the above example the verb *jña* is intransitive? Because the word *sarpiḥ* is not the object of knowledge, but it is an instrument of sacrifice, into which one engages from complete knowledge (*jñāna*); and it (*sarpiḥ*) is in the genitive case by virtue of II. 3. 51 (ज्ञोऽविदर्थस्य करणे) by which the instrumental *kāraka* of the *jña* is put in the genitive case.

Why do we say of "Intransitive"? Because in the transitive it is parasmaipadi, as स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he knows (recognizes) the son by his voice.'

संप्रतिभ्यामनाध्याने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-प्रतिभ्याम् अन्-आध्याने, ( चः आ०प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रतिदृश्येवं पूर्वाज्जानातेरनाध्याने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

46. After the verb *jña*, preceded by *sam*, and *prati*, the Atmanepada is employed, when not used in the sense of "remembering with regret."

The word *jña* is understood in this *sūtra*: and the aphorism applies to that *jña* which is used in the transitive. As *सहस्रं संजानीते* 'he looks for a hundred,' so *सहस्रं प्रतिजानीते* 'he promises a thousand.'

Why do we say when 'not meaning remembering with regret?' Because it is not *Atmanepadi*, when it conveys that meaning. Thus *मातुः संजानाति* 'he remembers with regret his mother' *वितुः संजानाति* ॥

भासनीपसंभाषाघानयत्नविनत्युपमन्त्रणेषु वदः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥

भासन-उपसंभाषा-घान-यत्न-विनति-उपमन्त्रणेषु , वदः , ( आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भासनादिषु विशेषणेषु सत्सु वदतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

47. After the verb *vad*, the *Atmanepada* is employed, when used in the senses of "showing brilliance, or proficiency in," "pacifying," "knowledge," "effort," "difference of opinion," and "flattering."

By *sūtra* 78, *vad* generally takes the terminations of the *Parasmaipada*, by the present *sūtra*, it takes also the affixes of the *Atmanepada* when having certain meanings.

*Bhāṣana*, (shining) means to illumine as *वदते चार्वा लोकायते*. The *chārvi* illumines the *Lokayat* shastras, by his discourses and clear exposition.

*Upasambhāṣhā* (persuasions) means to appease, to conciliate as *कर्मेकरानुपवदते* he conciliates or cajoles the servants.

*Jñāna* (knowledge) means to know completely as *वदते चार्वा लोकायते* the *chārvi* knows completely to discourse upon *Lokayat* shastra.

*Yatna* (endeavour) means energy as *क्षेत्रे वदते*. 'He toils in the field,' *गृहे वदते* 'he toils in the house.'

*Vimati* (disagreement) means dissension, want of unanimous opinion. As *क्षेत्रे विवदन्ते*. 'They disagree over the field' *i. e.*, holding different opinions they talk diversely.

*Upamantrana* (enticing) means to coax in secret as, *कुलभार्यामुपवदते* 'he entices the wife of a respectable family (*i. e.*, seduces her in secret)' *गृहहारानुपवदते* 'he flatters another's wife.'

Why in the above senses only? See *वद् क्विचिद्भवति* 'he says something'.

व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यक्तवाचाम् , सम्-उच्चारणे , ( वदः , आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणं सहोच्चारणं तत्रवर्त्तमानाद्ददतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

48. After the verb *vad*, the *Atmanepada* is employed when used in the sense of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As *संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणाः* 'the Brāhmanas are speaking.' But in *संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः* 'the cocks are crowing' it is properly *Parasmaipadi*.

The sense of the sūtra is that when men, who are only capable of articulate speech, speak all in one and the same time, then the verb *vad* takes the affix of the *Atmanepada*. When lower animals make a chorus of noise, the verb does not take the *Atmanepada*.

There must be *samuchchāraṇa* for the application of this rule, when there is no *samuchchāraṇa* or speaking in a chorus, this rule does not apply, as *ब्राह्मणो वदति* 'the Brāhman speaks.'

अनोरकर्मकात् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनाः , अकर्मकात् , (वदः , आ० प० ) व्यक्तवाचां ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाद्दत्तेरकर्मकाद्व्यक्तवाग्विप्रयासात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

49. After the verb *vad*, preceded by *anu* when it is intransitively used, the *Atmanepada* is employed, when the sense is that of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As *अनुवदते कठः कलारस्य* *kāṭha* is echoing or imitates *kalapa*. He reutters exactly what the *kalāpa*-reader or the teacher says. The word *anu* here means similarly.

Why do we say 'in the Intransitive'? Because when it is used in the transitive it takes the affixes of the *Parasmaipada*. As *पूर्वमेव यजुरुदितमनुवदति* he repeats the *yajurveda* which he had learned before.

The words 'uttering of articulate speech' are understood here also. Otherwise *अनुवदति शीण* the lute resounds, here it is *Parasmaipada*.

विभाषा विप्रलापे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा , विप्रलापे , ( वदः आ० प० व्यक्तवाचां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रजापात्मके व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे वर्त्तमानाद्दत्तेरात्मनेपदं भवति विभाषा ॥

50. After the verb *vad*, the *Atmanepada* is employed optionally, when the sense is that of "contradicting each other."

As *विप्रवदन्ते* or-न्ति *वैद्याः* (the doctors are at variance). The words *vyaktavāchāṃ* (articulate utterance) and *samuchchāraṇa* (speaking together) are understood in this sūtra also.

No option is allowed when the sense is not that of contradiction or wrangling as *संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणाः*. The Brāhmanas are speaking together.

The phrase 'articulate utterance' is necessary in this also. Because as *विप्रवदन्ति शकुनयः* the kites are quarrelling, the verb is in the *Parasmaipada*.

The wrangling must be by talking at one and the same time otherwise this rule will not apply. As क्रमेण वैद्या वैद्येन सह विप्रवदन्ति the doctors contradict by turn another doctor.

अवाद्द्यः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवाद् , यः , ( आ० प० )

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रपूर्वाद् गिरतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

51. After the verb grî 'to swallow,' when preceded by ava, the Atmanepada is used.

As अवगिरति (he swallows). The root grî to swallow preceded by the preposition ava is Atmanepadi. The verb grî taken in this sūtra means to swallow and belongs to the Tudâdi class, it is not the grî 'to make sound' which belongs to the kryâdi class. Because there is no word formed with the latter verb by affixing the preposition ava to it. By sūtra 78 this verb grî 'to swallow' would have been Parasmaipadi, the present sūtra debaras that.

When it is not preceded by ava, it is Parasmaipadi, as गिरति he swallows.

समः प्रतिज्ञाने ॥५२॥ पदानि ॥ समः , प्रतिज्ञाने , ( यःआ०प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाद् गिरतेः प्रतिज्ञाने वचनानास्रात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

52. After the verb grî preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is used, when employed in the sense of 'promising.'

As समं संगिरते (he promises to pay a hundred rupees) If it does not mean to promise or acknowledge, it takes parasmaipada terminations. As वगिरति मासम् he swallows the mouthful.

उदञ्चरः सकर्मकात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः , चरः , सकर्मकात् ॥

( आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वाच्चरतेः सकर्मकक्रियावचनास्रात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

53. After the verb char 'to walk' preceded by ut, when used transitively the Atmanepada is employed.

As ग्रेहमुचरते he strays away from home; गुरुवचनमुचरते he transgresses the commands of his preceptor.

Why do we say "when used in the transitive"? Observe वाष्पमुचरति the vapour is rising. Here it is parasmaipadi.

समस्त्वृतीयायुक्तात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः , तृतीया-युक्तात् ,

( चरः आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाच्चरतेस्त्वृतीयायुक्तास्रात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

54. After the verb *char*, preceded by *sam*, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the *Atmanepada* is employed.

As *अश्वेन संचरते* he rides on the horse-back.

The rule does not apply when it is not in composition with a word in the instrumental case. As *उभौ लोकौ संचरसि इमं चासुं च देवल!* O Devala! thou wanderest through both regions, this and that. Here though the sense of the Instrumental case is implied, yet as it is not expressly stated, we use the *parasmaipada* terminations.

दाणश्च सा चेत्तुर्थ्यर्थे ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाणः , च , सा , चेत् ,  
चतुर्थी-अर्थे , ( समस्तु० यु० घरः आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाण्डाने परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्वाद् द्वितीयायुक्ताशात्मनेपदं भवति साश्चेत् द्वितीया चतुर्थ्यर्थे भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अशिष्टव्यवहारे द्वितीया चतुर्थ्यर्थे भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

55. And after the verb *dā* to give, preceded by *sam*, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the *Atmanepada* is employed, provided this Instrumental case have the sense of the Dative case.

When is the 3rd case used with the force of the 4th case? That is answered by the following.

*Vart*:—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative when immoral conduct is implied. As *दास्या* or *दृष्या* संप्रयच्छते (he gives with the object of enticing to the female slave or prostitute).

The verb *dā* to give, is generally *parasmaipadi*, it becomes *âtmanepadi* under the above conditions.

Why do we say "when it has the force of the dative case"? Because when it has not the sense of the dative, *parasmaipada* terminations will be used, as *पाणिना संप्रयच्छति*, 'he gives with his hand.'

It might be asked how the *âtmanepada* terminations are employed when the preposition *sam* is not directly applied to the verb, but another preposition *pra*, intervenes between *sam* and the verb. The reply is that the word *samah* in *sûtra* 54 is not in the ablative case (which would have required its being placed immediately before the verb), but it is in the genitive case, and is used as an attribute.

उपाद्यमः स्वकरणे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात् , यमः , स्वकरणे ,  
( आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाद् यमः स्वकारणे वक्तव्ये वक्तव्ये वक्तव्ये भवति ॥

56. After the verb *yam*, to give, preceded by *upa*, when used in the sense of "espousing," the *Atmanepada* is employed.

This is clear. As भार्यागुपयच्छते he espouses or knows his wife. But not so when another's wife is meant, there it is *parasmaipadi*.

By rule 78, the verb *yam* would have been *parasmaipadi*, but the present *sūtra* makes an exception, when the root takes the preposition *upa* and means "to marry, to espouse, or to accept." The meaning of *sva-karana* is confined to accepting in general. This is according to *Kāśika*; according to *Mahābhāṣya*, *sva-karana* means to make one's own what was not previously his own.

Why do we say in the sense of "marrying"? When it has any other sense *parasmaipada* affixes will be employed as देवदत्तो यत्तद्वत्तस्य भार्यागुपयच्छति, *Devadatta* has illicit intercourse with the wife of *Yajñadatta*.

ज्ञान्श्रुस्वदृशां सनः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञा-श्रु-स्व-दृशान्, सनः,  
( आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञा श्रु स्व दृश इत्येतेषां सकन्तानामात्मनेपदं भवति ।

57. After the Desideratives formed by the affix *san*, of the verbs *jñā* to know, *sru*, to hear, *smṛi* to remember, and *dṛś* to see, the *Atmanepada* is employed.

The above four roots are *ātmanepadi* when in the Desiderative form, the suffix "san" being the *pratyaya* by which desideratives are formed.

The verb *jñā* takes the terminations of the *ātmanepada* when used in the senses indicated by the three *sūtras* 44, 45 and 46 already explained. The desiderative form of *jñā* would *ex necessitate* take *ātmanepada* affixes when used in the above senses: see Rule 62. The present *sūtra* however enlarges the scope of *ātmanepada* by declaring all desideratives of *jñā* to be *ātmanepada*, in whatever sense they may be used.

Similarly by *sūtra* 29 ante and the *vārtika* under it, the roots *śru*, and *dṛś*, take the terminations of the *ātmanepada*, when preceded by *sam*, the desideratives of those would of course have taken *ātmanepada* affixes by 62, but the present *sūtra* makes it general.

The present *sūtra* however enunciates a new rule in the case of the root *smṛi*.

As धर्मं जिज्ञासते he wishes to know (*i.e.* enquires after) religion गुहं श्रुश्रुषते he serves the teachers, नष्टं सुस्मृषते he wishes to remember the lost. नृपं विदृक्षते he wishes to see the king.

Why do we say, when taking the affix *san*? Because the primitive verbs will take the *parasmaipada* terminations as जानाति he knows; श्रुणोति he hears, स्मरति he remembers पश्यति he sees.

नानोर्धः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न , अनोः , छः , ( सनः आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाञ्जानातेः सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

58. After the desiderative of *jñā* when preceded by *anu* the *Atmanepada* is not employed.

This is an exception to the last *sūtra*. The desiderative of *jñā* with the prefix *anu* is not *ātmanepadi*.

This *sūtra* read with *sūtra* 45 limits the scope of *parasmaipada* to the transitive, desiderative verb *anu-jñā*. As *पुत्रमनुजिज्ञासति* he enquires after the son.

Why do we say when preceded by *anu*? Because otherwise it will take the *ātmanepada* terminations. As *धर्मम् जिज्ञासते* he inquires after religion.

प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्भ्याम् , श्रुवः , ( सनः आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वोच्छ्रुणोतिः सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

59. After the desideratives of *śru* when preceded by *prati* and *āñ* the *Atmanepada* is not used.

The verb *śru* when taking the prefixes *prati* and *āñ*, is not *ātmanepadi*, though taking the desiderative "san." This is also an exception to the rule of *sūtra* 57. Thus *प्रतिश्रुभूषति* and *आश्रुभूषति* ॥

The word *prati* and *āñ* must be *upasargas*; if they are used as *karma-pravachaniyas* (see 1. 4.—83) then the rule will not apply As *देवदत्तं प्रति श्रुभूषते* ॥

शदेः शितः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ शदेः , शितः , ( आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शदिर्यः शिद्धावीशितो वा सम्बन्धी तस्मादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

60. After the verb *śad* to decay, when it has one of the affixes with an indicatory *ś* (*śit*) the *Atmanepada* is used.

The root 'sad' when taking any affix which is marked with an indicatory *ś*, is conjugated in the *ātmanepadi*. In connection with this, must be read *sūtra* VII. 3. 78. *पाभ्राभ्रास्थास्त्रादाण्पृरुयन्ति* *सतिशदसदांपिबित्रधमति* *उमनयच्छपर्यर्तधौ* *शीयसीदाः* by which the root *शद्* is replaced by *शीय* before affixes having an indicatory *ś*. Thus *शद् + श + ते = शीय + अते = शीयते* he decays or withers, *शीयेते* they two decay *शीयन्ते* they decay.

Why do we say before affixes having an indicatory *ś*? Before other affixes, it is not *ātmanepadi*. As *अशस्त्यत्* if he decayed, *शस्त्यति* he will decay, *शिशस्तति*.

The well-known *vikaranas* like *शप्*, *श* &c., the affixes like *शट्* &c., are *चित्* affixes. In other words the root *śad* is *ātmanepadi* in all conjugational tenses.



म्रियतेलँङ्लिङ्गोश्च ॥ ६१ ॥ म्रियते , लुङ्-लिङ्गोः , च ( शितः

आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ म्रियतेलँङ्लिङ्गोः शितधात्मनेपदं भवति भन्वन् न भवति ॥

61. After the verb *mṛi* to die, when it has one of the affixes having an indicatory च, as well as when it takes the affixes *luṅ* (aorist III 2. 110) and *liṅ* (Benedictive III. 3. 159) the Atmanepada is used.

This is a restrictive sūtra, the root *मृह्* (to die), is marked with a ह् as an indicatory letter, so by sūtra 12 it would be always Atmanepadi. But the present aphorism restricts it to लुङ् *luṅ* (Aorist) and लिङ् *liṅ* (Benedictive) tenses, as well as to those tenses which are चित् . It will be found hereafter that out of the ten tenses, those that take चित् affixes are the special tenses *i.e.*, the present, the Imperfect, the Potential and the Imperative.

It is only before these three affixes, namely, *liṅ*, *luṅ* and *ṣit* affixes, that the root *mṛi* takes the terminations of the *âtmanepada*. Thus the aorist अमृत *amṛita* he died; Benedictive मृषीष्ट *mṛishishṭa* 'may he die.' Similarly before *ṣit* affixes thus म्रियते 'he dies,' = मृ + च + ते (VII. 4. 28 रिङ् चवलिङ्गु) म्रिय + च + ते = म्रियते (VI. 4. 77. अचि इनुभानुभुवां ष्योरियद्बडौ) म्रियते , म्रियन्ते The root *मृ* belongs to the sixth class of verbs called *Tudâdi* which take the *vikaraṇa च* in the conjugational tenses (III. 1. 77).

In other tenses, *viz.*, the two Futures, the Perfect and the conditional, this verb is *parasmaipadi*. As:—मरिष्यति he will die. अमरिष्यत् .

पूर्ववत्सनः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववत् , सनः , ( आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनः पूर्वो यो धातुः आत्मनेपदी तद्वत्तन्मन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

62. The verb which is *Atmanepadi* in its primitive form before the taking of the affix *san*, will also be *Atmanepadi* when it ends in the affix *san*. In other words; after a desiderative verb, *Atmanepada* is employed, if it would have been used after the primitive verb.

If the primary verb is *parasmaipadi*, its desiderative will be also *parasmaipadi*; if the primary verb is *Atmanepadi*, its desiderative will be *Atmanepadi*. This is the general rule. Some exceptions to it have already been mentioned in sūtras 57, 58, and 59. A root which was *âtmanepadi*, before taking the Desiderative affix सन् *san*, will be *âtmanepadi* even when it takes the affix सन् *san*. In other words, that by reason of which the *âtmanepada* affixes were ordained in the primary verb, will cause the same termina-

tions to be applied when the verb ends in सन् san. Thus it was said in sūtra 12, that roots having an anudatta accented vowel as indicatory or a ह् n as their indicatory letter take the terminations of the ātmanepada. Thus आस्ते he sits down and सोते 'he sleeps.' The verb भास् (to sit down) and हीह् (to lie down) will remain ātmanepadi, even when they are used as Desideratives. Thus आसित्सिषते 'he wishes to lie down.' Similarly sūtra 17 declared that the verb निविष् is ātmanepadi as निविषते, this will be ātmanepadi also in the Desiderative form, as निविषित्सते 'he wishes to enter.' So also by sūtra 40, आक्रवते is ātmanepadi, the Desiderative आचिक्रवते will also be ātmanepadi.

But though by 60 and 61. हीयते and म्रियते are ātmanepadi, yet शिषस्वति 'he wishes to lie down' मृषति 'he wishes to die,' are parasmaipadi. Because the ātmanepada affixes were ordained after the roots ष् and मृह् only under exceptional conditions and not generically, and as those conditions do not exist in the desiderative, the latter does not take ātmanepada terminations.

Of course that which in its primary state would not have taken the terminations of the ātmanepada, there being a prohibition to that effect will not allow them in its Desiderative form. As अनुचिकीर्षति 'he wishes to imitate,' पराचिकीर्षति. Here the root कृष् by rule 79 has been especially declared to be parasmaipadi, to the exclusion of ātmanepada affixes which would otherwise have come by Rule 32 and 72, and therefore its Desiderative is also parasmaipadi. The force of ष् causing ātmanepada is counteracted by 79.

Now it might be asked:—True, this rule provides for those cases where a root is conjugated in two forms, one a Primitive and another a Desiderative conjugation. But what provision do you make for those partial verbs which take the affix सन् even in their primitive form; and in whose case we have no prior form to look upon as a guide in the application of ātmanepada affixes. And there are at least 7 such quasi-roots which take सन् in this way, called also the self-descriptive सन्. Those quasi-roots are गुप्, तिज्, कित्, गान्, बध्, हान् and घान्. What are we to do with these quasi-roots, which are always conjugated with the affix सन् and have no simpler conjugation?" To this we reply; "In the case of these partial verbs which take the self-descriptive सन् the pada will be regulated by the indicatory letters which these quasi-roots have. For though the full roots are जुगुप्स तित्सि, चिकित्स, मीमान्स, बीभान्स, हीहान्स and हीहान्स, yet by the maxim अवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं समुदायस्य विशेषकं भवति, "a sign made in a portion of a thing, qualifies the whole thing;" the sign made in the expression गुप् &c., will qualify the whole verb जुगुप्स &c." Thus we have जुगुप्सते he despises, चिकित्सते he cures; मीमांसते he investigates &c.

आम्प्रत्ययवत्कृञोऽनुप्रयोगस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्-प्रत्ययवत्,

कृञः, अनुप्रयोगस्य ( आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्येवधातोः कृञोऽनुप्रयोगस्यात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

63. Like the verb that takes the affix *ām*, if the verb be conjugated with the Atmanepada terminations, so of the verb *kṛi* when subjoined thereto as an auxiliary, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra applies where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. There are in Sanskrit two forms of the perfect tense ( लिट् ): one formed in the ordinary way by the reduplication of the root and adding the terminations; the other called the periphrastic perfect, is formed by adding *आम्* to the root, and then affixing to it the perfect tense of the roots कृ (to do), भू (to be) or भस् (to be). These latter verbs are called anuprayoga or auxiliary verbs, as it is with their help that the perfect tense is formed. The question then arises, what conjugation, parasmai or Atmanepada, do these auxiliaries take in forming the periphrastic perfect? This sūtra supplies the answer:—the auxiliary कृ follows the conjugation of principals, the other auxiliaries do not. Thus the root एष (to increase, prosper) is Atmanepadi, therefore in forming the periphrastic perfect, the verb कृ will be also in the Atmanepada. Thus एषाचक्रे (he prospered). Similarly इद् (to appear with great splendour) is parasmaipadi and the auxiliary कृ after it will be parasmaipada, as इन्द्राश्चकार (he appeared with great splendour).

But the other auxiliaries भू and भस् retain their own peculiar conjugation and are not influenced by the conjugation of their principal. Thus एषाम्बभूव, एषामास.

The word *ām-pratyaya* of the sūtra means 'that after which the affix *ām* (III. I. 35 and 36. कास्प्रत्यययासामनेने लिटि ) comes.' Of the verb *kṛi*, when subjoined to another as an auxiliary, the termination is that of the Atmanepada like the verb that takes the affix *ām*. If this sūtra enjoined a rule of injunction (*vidhi*), then there would be the termination of the Atmanepada even in examples like उद्भवाचकार and उद्भवाचकार where the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This is no valid objection to the present sūtra. It is to be interpreted in both ways, that is, both as a *vidhi* (a general injunction) and a *niyama* (a restrictive injunction). How is that to be done? Because the word *pūrvavat* of the last sūtra is to be read in the present aphorism also. The second explanation in that case will be for the sake of establishing a *niyama* or restrictive rule.

It has already been said above that the auxiliary verbs कृ, भू and अस् are used in forming the periphrastic perfect. This is done by force of the aphorism III. I. 40 कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि, meaning, the verb कृिñ is annexed in the perfect tense, to verbs that take ãm. In this sūtra (III. I. 40) the word कृिñ is a pratyāhāra, implying the verbs कृह्, भू and अस्. It might be asked how is this pratyāhāra formed? The word कृि is taken from the fourth word of sūtra V. 4. 50, अमृततद्भावे कृभस्तियोगे &c., and the letter ñ is taken from sūtra V. 4. 58 कृभोदित्थि &c. This is the way in which the commentators explain how not only the verb कृिñ is used as an auxiliary in forming the periphrastic perfect, but also the verbs भू and अस्. These three verbs denoting absolute action unmodified by any especial condition have in all languages been fixed upon as the best auxiliaries.

It must however be noted that the word कृिñ in this sūtra is not used as a pratyāhāra and consequently does not include the verbs भू and अस्.

प्रोपाभ्यां युजेरयज्ञपात्रेषु ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-उपाभ्यान्, युजेः ,  
अयज्ञ-पात्रेषु , ( आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उप इत्येवंपूर्वाद् युजेरयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगविषयादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वराद्यन्तोपच्छादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

64. After the verb *yuj* to join, the *Atmanepada* is used, when it is preceded by *pra* and *upa* except with reference to sacrificial vessels even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb *युजिर्* 'to join' is *svaritet*, and consequently by sūtra 72 it is always *ātmanepadi*, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra declares when this verb may take the terminations of *ātmanepada*, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. After the verb *युज्* preceded by the prepositions *प्र* and *उप* the terminations are of the *ātmanepada*, when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels. As *प्रयुङ्क्ते* 'he joins or employs'; *उपयुङ्क्ते* 'he fits or uses.'

Why do we say "when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels?" Because there the terminations will be of the *parasmaipada*. As इन्द्रं न्यञ्चि पात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति .

*Vārtika*:—It shall be rather stated that the root takes the terminations of the *ātmanepada* when preceded by any preposition beginning or ending with a vowel. This is an important modification of the above rule. Thus *उयुङ्क्ते* and *नियुङ्क्ते*. In fact, all *upasargas*, with the exception of *सम्*, *निर्*, and *इर्*, either begin or end with a vowel, and therefore the *Vārtika* amounts to the inclusion of all prepositions with the above exception.

With सम्, नि and दु, however, the root will take parasmaipada terminations; as संयुनक्ति.

समः ह्युवः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः , ह्युवः , ( आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्यु तेजने परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्वासात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

65. After the verb kshnu, to sharpen, preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is employed.

The verb ह्यु 'to sharpen, whet, or grind,' is generally parasmaipadi, but it is Atmanepadi when it is preceded by the prefix सम्; as संह्युते शस्त्रम् 'he whets the weapon' संह्युवते 'they two whet' ह्युवते 'they all whet'.

It might be objected, why has a separate aphorism been made of the verb kshnu, when it could well have been included in the sūtra 29 ante, which also speaks of the force of the prefix sam, when used with the verbs gam richchha &c. To this the answer is that, that sūtra treats of intransitive verbs, the word akarmaka being understood therein, while the present sūtra, as is evident from the example we have given above, treats of transitive verbs.

भुजोऽनवने ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुजः , अनवने , ( आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुजपाननाभ्यवहारयोरिति रुधाक्षौ पठ्यते । तस्मादनवनेऽपानने वर्त्तमानासात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

66. After the verb bhuj, the Atmanepada is used, except in the sense of protecting.

The root bhuj when it does not mean to protect, is Atmanepadi. This root belongs to the rudhadi class and has several meanings, as, to feed, to cherish, to preserve, to eat, and to enjoy. As भुंक्ते 'he eats or enjoys' also bhujāte, bhujate &c. But पुत्रान् भुनक्ति पिता 'the father cherishes the sons' भुनक्त्येनमग्निराहितः.

The root bhuj belongs also to the tudadi class, but there it has the sense of being curved or crooked. The bhuj belonging to the tudadi class is not to be taken in this sūtra, because that bhuj has never the sense of protecting. Therefore विभुजति पाणिम् 'he bends the hand,' is in the parasmaipada.

जेरणौ यत् कर्म णौ चेत् स कर्त्तानाध्याने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जेः , अणौ , यत् , कर्म , णौ , चेत् , सः , कर्त्ता , अनाध्याने , ( आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्तासात्मनेपदं भवति, कथम् अणौ यत्कर्म णौ चेत् तदेवकर्म, स एव कर्त्ता भवति । अनाध्याने, आध्यायं वर्जयित्वा ॥

67. After a verb ending in the affix णि (causal) the Atmanepada is employed, provided that when the object in the non-णि or non-causal sense becomes the

agent in the causal ; and when it does not mean 'to remember with regret,' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The causatives (णिच्) are conjugated in the âtmanepadi, when they are used in the passive voice, that is to say when a word which was an objective case in the ordinary verb becomes nominative case in the causative ; and the nominative case of the ordinary verbs becomes objective case in the causative. In short when causatives are used in the passive voice, they are âtmanepadi. This round-about phraseology has been employed, because the base of the active and the passive causatives do not differ in form ; as आरोहयते हस्तिपकान् हस्ती .

The phrase ' ञे. (after the causatives) ' of this sūtra governs the four succeeding sūtras and is understood in them. The sūtra consists of the following words :— ञे: ' after the causative ;' अणो ' in the non-causative ;' यत् ' what ;' कर्त्तुं ' object ;' ञौ ' in the causative ;' चेत् ' if ;' सः ' that ;' कर्त्ता ' nominative ;' अनाध्याने ' except to remember.'

In general, by sūtra 74, the causative verbs take the terminations of the âtmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra applies to the case where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

After the verbs that take the affix णिच्, the terminations are those of the âtmanepada. How? When that which was the object when the primitive verb was used non-causatively, becomes also the object when the derivative verb is used causatively ; and even that object becomes also the agent as well. There is exception however, in the case when the verb means to 'remember with regret.' As आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant.' Let us paraphrase this sentence by transforming the primitive non-causative verb आरोहन्ति into a causative form. The sentence then will be, आरोहयते हस्ती स्वयमेव 'the elephant makes itself to be mounted'. Similarly उपसिञ्चन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers sprinkle the elephant'; and उपसेचयते हस्ती स्वयमेव 'the elephant makes itself to be sprinkled'; पश्यन्ति भूत्या राजानम् 'the attendants see the king'; and दृश्यते राजा स्वयमेव 'the king makes himself to be seen.'

Why do we say 'after the causatives?' Because the rule of this sūtra will not apply, if the verb though conveying the sense of a causal verb, is, however, not formed by the affix णिच्; as आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant,' and आरोहयमाणो हस्ती साध्वारोहति 'the elephant that is being mounted, mounts gracefully'. Here the terminations are of the parasmaipada in the second case also.

Why do we say 'in the non-causative non-*ni*'? For this rule will not apply, when the primitive verb itself is formed by the affix *णिच्*; such are the roots of the tenth class or *churādi* in which the *ni*ch is added in the self-descriptive sense, and not for a causative purpose. Thus the root *गण* belongs to *churādi* class; whose causative and primitive forms are the same. As *गणयति गणं गोपालकः* 'the cowherd counts the herd;' and the causative form is *गणयति गणः स्वयमेव* 'the herd makes itself to be counted.' The terminations in both cases are those of the *parasmaipada*.

Why do we say 'when the object (*karma*) becomes the agent.' Because the rule will not apply, when any other *kāraka* or case, than the *karma* or object, of the primitive verb becomes the agent in the causative. Thus *हृणाति हृत्रेण* 'he cuts with the scythe,' *लाययति हृत्रं स्वयमेव* 'the scythe is made to cut of itself.' Here the word *dātra* was the instrument of the primitive verb which became agent in the causative, and therefore in the causative the terminations are of the *parasmaipada* only.

Why do we say 'if in the causative' in the *sūtra*? It is for the purpose of indicating that the verb must be one and the same, both in the primary sentence and the causative sentence. Therefore the rule does not apply here where the causative verb *सेचयति* in the second sentence was not used in the first sentence; *आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः* 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and *आरोहयमाणो हस्ती स्थलमारोहयति मनुष्यान्* 'the elephant that is being caused to mount is made to sprinkle with urine the frightened men'.

The word *तः* 'that' is employed in the aphorism to show that the objects in both sentences must be the same and not different. Therefore in the following example where the objects are different, the terminations of *parasmaipada* are only used. *आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः* 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant'; and *आरोहयमाणो हस्ती स्थलमारोहयति मनुष्यान्* 'the elephant, that is being caused to mount, makes men mount on the land.'

Why do we use the word *kartā* (agent) in the *sūtra*? If the former object is not the agent in the second case, the terminations of the *parasmaipada* only would be used. As *आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः* 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and *तानारोहयति महामात्रः* 'the elephant-driver makes it to mount.'

Why do we say 'except when meaning to remember with tenderness?' Observe, *स्मरति वनगुल्मस्य कोकिलः* 'the dove remembers, with regret, the forest tree;' and *स्मरयत्येनं वनगुल्मः स्वयमेव* 'the forest tree is made to be remembered of itself.'

भीस्त्वोर्हेतुभये ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-स्त्वोः, हेतु-भये, ( जे, आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिभेतेः स्मयतेश्च एयन्ताहात्मनेपदं भवति हेतुभये ॥

68. After the causatives of the verbs *bhī* to fear, and *smi* to wonder, even the fruit of the action accrues not to the agent the Atmanepada is employed, when the fear is produced directly by the causative agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in णि' is understood in this sūtra and is to be supplied from the previous aphorism. This sūtra is also restricted to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word हेतु in the aphorism has been defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 55 ( स्वतन्त्र कर्त्ता ); it is the agent which is the mover of another's agent. When a fear is caused by a हेतु it is called हेतुभय. The word भय 'fear' in the aphorism is illustrative, and includes by implication विस्मय 'astonishment' also. As जटिलो भीषयते 'the jatila, the cock-headed frightens,' मुण्डो भीषयते 'the munda, the shave-headed frightens'; जटिलो विस्मापयते 'the jatila astonishes,' मुण्डो विस्मापयते 'the munda astonishes' i.e. the very fact of matted-hair or shaven-head frightens' &c. .

Why do we say हेतुभय? For if the fear or astonishment is not the direct result caused by the agent, but arises from something else, then the Atmanepada will not be used. As कुञ्चिकयैर्न भाययति 'he frightens him with the kunchika,' रूपेण विस्माययति 'he astonishes with his form'. Here kunchika and rupa are the instruments, which cause fear or astonishment, and are not the hetu thereof.

गृधिवज्रुद्योः प्रलम्बने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृधि-वज्रुद्योः, प्रलम्बने, ( जेः आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृधु अभिकाङ्क्षायाम् वज्रु गतावस्थितयोर्एयन्तयोः प्रलम्बने वर्त्तमानयोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

69. After the causatives of the verbs *griḍh* to covet, and *vañich* to go, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causatives ending in णि' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra is also restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word प्रलम्बन of the sūtra means deceiving. As मानवकं गर्भयते 'he deceives the boy,' मानवकं वञ्चयते 'he cheats the boy.'



Why do we say 'when it means deceiving.' For these verbs have not this meaning, their causatives take parasmaipada. As इवान् गर्भयति 'he causes the dog to bark,' अहिं वञ्चयति 'he avoids the serpent.'

लियः संमाननशालीनीकरणयोश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ लियः ;  
संमानन-शालीनी-करणयोः , च , ( जेः प्रलम्बने आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लियो ण्यन्तास्संमानने शालीनीकरणे च वर्त्तमानादात्मनपरं भवति च शब्दान् प्रलम्बने च ॥

70. After the causative of the verb *li* to melt or stick, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of showing respect, subduing and deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in *णि*' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra has its scope only when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. In the Dhātupāṭha, there are two roots *ली*, one is technically called *लीङ्* and means to stick, and belongs to divadi class. The other *ली* meaning to 'melt' belongs to *kryādi* class. As there is no specification in the sūtra what *ली* is to be taken, both are therefore taken.

The force of the word *च* in the sūtra is to include the word *प्रलम्बन* 'to delude' of the last sūtra into the present. The word *संमानन* means to show respect. The word *शालीनीकरण* means to subdue. As *जटाभिराज्ञापयते* 'he gets respect or causes respect to be shown to him through or on account of his matted hair.' *इयेनो वृत्तिकामुल्लापयते* 'the hawk subdues the partridge', *कस्त्वामुल्लापयते* 'who deceives thee?'

The sūtra *विभाषा लीयते*: VI. I. 51 declares that the ई of *ली* is optionally changed into *ऌ* before certain terminations. But there is no option allowed when the root *ली* has any of the above three senses: in these cases the substitution of *ऌ* is necessary and not optional. For the option allowed by sūtra VI. I. 51 is a *व्यवस्थितविभाषा* and not a general *विभाषा* applicable everywhere.

Why do we say 'when it has the meaning of, to show respect &c.?' Because otherwise there is parasmaipada. As *बालकमुल्लापयति*.

मिथ्योपपदात्कृजोऽभ्यासे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिथ्या-उपपदात् ,  
कृजः ; अभ्यासे , ( जेः आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एयन्ताद् करंतेर्मिथ्योपपदादात्मनपरं भवति अभ्यासे ॥

71. After the causative of the verb *kri*, the Atmanepada is used, when it has the word *mithya*, incorrect, as an upapada or dependent word, and is

employed in the sense of 'repeated wrong utterance' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in णि' is to be supplied from sūtra 67. The aphorism is restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word abhyāsa means doing again, or repetition; as परं मिथ्या कारयति means 'he repeatedly pronounces the word incorrectly that is with wrong accent &c., not once but constantly'.

Why do we say 'when the word mithyā is used as an upapada?' The causative of kri will take parasmaipada when it has any other upapada. Thus परं सुष्ठु कारयति 'he pronounces the word correctly.'

Why do we say 'of the verb कृञ्'? Because the causative of any other verb used along with the word mithyā will not have ātmanepada; as परं मिथ्या वाचयति 'he repeatedly utters the word wrongly.' Here वच् takes parasmaipada.

Why do we say 'repeatedly'? For if the incorrect utterance is not habitual, then parasmaipada will be used; as परं मिथ्याकारयति 'he pronounces wrongly, not always but once.'

स्वरितजितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले ॥७२॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरित-जितः, कर्तृ-अभिप्राये, क्रिया-फले ( जे: आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितेतो ये धातवो जितश्च तेभ्य आत्मनेपदं भवति कर्त्तारं चेत् क्रियाफलमभिप्रेति ॥

72. After the verb marked with a svarita, (svaritet) or which has an indicatory णि (ñiit), the terminations of the Atmanepada are employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The anuvṛitti of the phrase एः does not go further. The word क्रियाफलं is a compound, meaning 'fruit of the action.' When the principal object for the sake of which the action is begun, is meant for the agent indicated by the verb, there the ātmanepada is used after verbs having an indicatory ण् or a svarita accent. As यजते 'he sacrifices for himself' पचते 'he cooks for himself.' Here the verb यज् and पच् are marked with svarita accent in the Dhātupāṭha, and therefore they take the ātmanepada terminations.

Similarly सुनुते 'he presses the soma-juice,' कुरुते 'he does.' Here the verbs सुञ् and कृञ् have an indicatory ण्.

In all the above cases, the principal object of the action such as getting heaven by performance of sacrifice, eating of food &c., is meant for the agent. That is to say, he sacrifices in order that he himself may attain heaven, he cooks in order that he himself may eat, &c. .

Why do we say 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent'? Otherwise it will have *parasmaipada*. As *यजन्ति राजकाः* the priests sacrifice, (not for themselves, but for their clients)' *पचन्ति पाचकाः* 'the cooks cook (for their masters)' *कुर्वन्ति कर्मकराः* 'the menials work (for their masters).' Here though the fees and the wages are the fruits which the agent gets, yet as that fruit is not the principal object for which the action was begun—the principal object of the sacrifice was not that the priest should get his fee, but that the sacrificer may go to heaven—the verb takes the terminations of the *Parasmaipada*. Here the principal fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent; but to a third party.

अपाद्दः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपाद्, वदः, (कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रिया-  
फले ( आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वाद्ब्रह्मतेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

73. After the verb *vad* to tell, preceded by *apa*, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the terminations are of the *Atmanepada*.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent," is understood here. The *sūtra* is clear. As *धनकामो न्यायमनवहते* 'the wealth-seeker forsakes justice, that is to say, he wishes to acquire wealth at the sacrifice of justice. But when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the *parasmaipada* is employed. As *भयवृत्तिः*.

णिच्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ णिचः, च, ( कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले  
आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिजन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले ॥

74. After a verb ending in affix *ni* (causal) when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the *Atmanepada* is employed.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent" is to be supplied from *sūtra* 72. The verbs that take the affix *णिच्* *nich* are generally causatives. As *कटं कारयते* 'he causes the mat to be made for himself' *स्रोतं पाचयते* 'he causes the food to be cooked for himself. When the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the *parasmaipada* is used. As *कटं कारयति परस्य* he causes anothers' mat to be made.

समुदाङ्भ्यो यसो ऽग्रन्थे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उद्-आङ्भ्यः,  
यसः, अग्रन्थे ( कर्त्रभिप्राये आ० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उद् आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वायमेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति प्रत्यवि-  
षयश्चेत्प्रयोगेन भवति ॥

75. After the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by *sam*, *ut* and *āñ*, when it does not refer to a book, the *Atmanepada* is employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is read into this aphorism by *anuvritti* from *sūtra* 72. As *ग्रीहीन् संयच्छते* 'he gathers rice' *भारमुद्यच्छते* 'he lifts up the load' *वल्लमायच्छते* 'he draws out the cloth.' The root *yam* preceded by the preposition *आङ्* takes the terminations of the *Atmanepada* by virtue of aphorism 28 ante; but in that aphorism the verb was intransitive, here it is transitive, and this explains the necessity of making two different *sūtras* for one compound verb *आयम्*.

Why do we say 'when it does not refer to a book.' For otherwise the verb will take the terminations of the *parasmaipada*. As *उद्यच्छति चिकित्सां वैद्यः* 'the physician studies diligently the medicine.'

When however the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent the above compound verbs are *parasmaipadi*. As *संयच्छति, उद्यच्छति, आयच्छति*.

अनुपसर्गाञ्छः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गत्, छः ( कर्त्रभिप्राये आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गाज्जानातेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

76. After the verb *jñā* when not preceded by any *upasarga*, the terminations are of the *Atmanepada*, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is understood in this *sūtra* also. Thus *गां जानीते* 'he recognises the cow as his own'; *अश्वं जानीते* 'he recognises the horse as his own.'

Why do we say when not preceded by any *upasarga*? For when compounded with prepositions, it may take the *Atmanepada* terminations; as *स्वर्गं लोकं न प्रजानाति मूढः* 'the fool does not know the heavenly regions.'

When however, the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the simple root *ज्ञा* takes *parasmaipada* terminations. *देवदत्तस्य गां जानाति* 'he recognises *Devadatta's* cow.'

विभाषोपपदेन प्रतीयमाने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपपदेन, प्रतीयमाने ( कर्त्रभि० आ० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वापेभ्यमाण शब्दान्तरमुपपरं तेन प्रतीयमाने कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले विभाषाऽ-  
त्मनेपदं भवति ॥

77. The Atmanepada is optionally used, when the fact of the fruit of the action accruing to the agent is indicted by an upapada *i.e.*, by a word used along with the verb.

By the preceding five sūtras 72 to 76, Atmanepada terminations were ordained to come after verbs which implied the accrual of the fruit of the action to the agent, that is to say, where the verb by itself denoted this. But when the same idea, instead of being inherent in the verb, is expressed by an upapada, that is by a word governed by the verb, the necessity of using the Atmanepada affixes, to denote the same idea, is obviously removed, and in such a case it is optional whether we use the Atmanepada or the Parasmaipada terminations. As स्वं यज्ञं यजति or यज्ञते 'he sacrifices for his own yajña' स्वं कटं कर्तुति or कुरुते 'he makes his own cot.' स्वं पुत्रमपवदति or अपवदते, स्वमोदनं पाचयते or पाचयति &c. So on with all the above five sūtras.

शेषात्कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषात्, कर्तरि,  
परस्मैपदम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषात्कर्तरिपरस्मैपदं भवति शेषादेवनान्यस्मात् अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदमुक्तम् ॥

78. After the rest *i.e.*, after all those verbs not falling under any one of the previous provisions, the terminations of the Parasmaipada are employed, in marking the agent (*i.e.*, in the active voice).

The rules of Atmanepada have been declared in the preceding 66 sūtras, 12 to 77. The terminations of the Parasmaipada, which are the general verbal terminations, will come everywhere else that is to say where its operation is not debarred by any one of the preceding aphorisms. The present sūtra declares this universal rule. The word śeṣha or the rest, means that which is the residue after the application of all the previous restrictive rules. Thus it was declared by sūtra 12 ante that a root having an Anudatta vowel or a ङ as it, will take Atmanepada terminations. As आस्ते, घृते. The converse of this will take parasmaipada terminations, namely all verbs which do not have an anudatta accent or a ङ as it. Thus याति 'he goes,' वाति 'it blows.' It has been declared by sūtra 17 that the root विद्य when preceded by नि takes Atmanepada termination, as निविद्यते. When not preceded by नि but any other preposition it will take the parasmaipada termination. As आविद्यति, प्रविद्यति.

Why do we say "when marking the agent"? For when used in the passive voice, the root will take the Atmanepada termination. As पच्यते 'it is cooked' गम्यते 'it is gone.'

Why is not parasmaipada used when the verb is employed reflexively? As in the following example:—पच्यते सौदनः स्वयमेव 'the food cooks of itself.' Because in the present sūtra, the word कर्तरि of sūtra 14 ante is to be read in by anuvritti, so that, in fact there are two कर्तरि in this aphorism which thus means "when the agent of the verb is an agent pure and simple then parasmaipada is employed." While when a verb is used reflexively (कर्मकर्तरि) the agent of the verb is also, in one aspect, the object of the verb; and it is therefore, that in reflexive verbs the Atmanepada terminations are employed.

अनुपराभ्यांकृजः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-पराभ्याम् । कृजः ।

( परस्मैपदम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपरा इत्येवं पूर्वान् करोतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

79. After the verb कृि to make, preceded by anu and para, parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent, and when the sense is that of "divulging" &c.

By aphorism 32 ante, the root कृ took the terminations of the Atmanepada when the sense denoted was that of "divulging, reviling" &c., and it also took Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent by virtue of sūtra 72, because the root कृञ् has an indicative ञ्. The present sūtra makes an exception to those rules, and ordains parasmaipada. Thus अनुकरोति he imitates, पराकरोति he does well.

अग्निप्रत्यतिभ्यः क्षिपः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नि-प्रति-अतिभ्यः ।

क्षिपः ॥ ( प० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्निप्रति अतिइत्येवं पूर्वान् क्षिपः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

80. After the verb कृship, to throw, coming after abhi, prati and ati, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The root क्षिप to throw, is svariteta therefore by sūtra 72 ante it would have taken Atmanepada termination, when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent; this aphorism ordains parasmaipada instead. As अग्निक्षिपति 'he throws on' प्रतिक्षिपति 'he turns away or rejects,' अतिक्षिपति 'he throws beyond.'

Why do we say "when coming after abhi, prati, and ati"? Because when compounded with any other preposition, it will not take parasmaipada, but will be governed by sūtra 72. As आक्षिपते 'he throws down.'

The second कर्तृ of sūtra 14 is also understood here, so that when the verb is used reflexively, the agent not being purely an agent, the present sūtra will not apply. As अग्निक्षिप्यते स्वमेव 'it is thrown on of itself.'

प्राद्ध, ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राद् । वहः ( पर० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र पूर्वाद् वहतेः परस्मैपद् भवति ॥

81. After the verb vah to bear, coming after pra, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root वह् to carry is svaritet, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken the Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. But the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead. As प्रवहति 'it flows.'

Why do we say "when coming after pra"? Because after any other preposition it will not take parasmaipada as आवहते 'he brings.'

परैर्मृषः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः । मृषः । ( पर० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिपूर्वाद् मृष्यतेः परस्मैपद् भवति ॥

82. After the verb mṛish to bear, preceded by pari, parasmaipada is used, even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root मृष "to suffer" is svaritet, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This ordains parasmaipada instead. As परमृष्यति 'he endures or he becomes angry.' When not preceded by this preposition, it takes Atmanepada termination. As आमृष्यते .

According to some authors, the root वह् of the last aphorism is said to be understood in this, so that वह् preceded by परि will also take parasmaipada terminations; as परिवहति .

व्याङ् परिभ्योरमः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-आङ्-परिभ्यः । रमः ।  
( पर० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विआङ्परिभ्येवं पूत्राङ्परमतेः परस्मैपद् भवति ॥

83. After the verb ram to sport, preceded by vi and ān, parasmaipada is used.

The verb रम् means 'to sport.' It is anudāttet and therefore by sūtra 12 it would have taken Atmanepada terminations; the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead, as विरमति 'he takes rest'; आरमति 'he delights in,' परिरमति 'he sports.'

With other prepositions than these, it will take Atmanepada termination. As अभिरमते .

उपाच्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात् । च । ( रमः परस्मैपदम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाङ्गमतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

84. And also after upa, the verb ram takes the affixes of the parasmaipada.

As देवदत्तमुपरमति 'he causes Devadatta to refrain.' The sense of the verb uparamati is causative here, as if it was उपरमयति. This is an example of a verb involving in it the force of the causative affix णिच्.

It might be asked why was not the preposition उप read along with the other preposition in the last aphorism, instead of making this a separate sūtra. The answer is that the necessity of making a separate sūtra with the preposition upa arose from the exigencies of sūtra making. It is desired, that the next sūtra 85 should apply only to the root upa-ram, and not to other compounds of ram; and this could only be done by making these two distinct sūtras.

विभाषाऽकर्मकात् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा । अकर्मकात् ( रमः पर० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाङ्गमतेःकर्मकाद्विभाषा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

85. After the verb ram preceded by upa, parasmaipada is optionally used, when employed intransitively.

The last aphorism ordained parasmaipada absolutely, this declares an option under certain circumstances. As यावद्भुक्तमुपरमति or उपरमते he desisted from or was quiet while it was eaten.

बुधयुधनशजनेद्भुद्भुस्तुभ्योणेः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बुध-युध-नश-जन एद्-भु-द्-भु-स्तुभ्यः । णेः । ( प० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुधयुधनशजन एद् भु द् भु स्तु इत्येतेभ्योऽप्यन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

86. After the verbs budh to know, yudh to fight, naś to destroy, jana to be born, iñ to go, pru to move, dru to run, and sru to flow, ending in the affix णि (i.e., when used in the causative), parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

By sūtra 74 ante, causatives took the ātmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This makes an exception to that and ordains parasmaipada. As बोधयति he expands बोधयति he causes to fight; नाशयति he causes destruction, जनयति he begets; आध्यापयति he teaches; प्रापयति he causes to obtain; प्रावयति he causes to melt; क्षावयति he causes to trickle.



Of the above eight roots, those which are intransitive would have taken the parasmaipada terminations under the conditions mentioned in sūtra 88 sub, that is to say, when the agent is a being endowed with a reason. The present aphorism in the case of such intransitive verbs makes this additional statement, that those intransitive verbs will take parasmaipada, even when the agent is not a being endowed with a reason. As बोधयति पद्मम् he makes the lotus to expand, बोधयति काष्ठानि he makes the woods to strike each other, नाशयति दुःखम् he destroys the sorrow, जनयति सुखम् he produces pleasure.

Again of the above eight roots, those that have ordinarily the sense of "moving" will get parasmaipada by sutra 87. The present sutra, in their case makes this additional statement, that they will take parasmaipada terminations even when the sense is not that of moving. Thus गृ, means both 'to move,' and 'to obtain,' द्रु means 'to run' as well as 'to melt,' and ज्ञ, means 'to flow' as well as to 'to trickle.' As प्रवृत्ते he obtains; अयोद्रवति the iron melts; कुण्डिका स्रवति the water-vessels drip. The examples in the first paragraph have therefore been thus translated.

The root इङ् is always compounded with अधि .

निगरणचलनार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निगरण-चलन-अर्थेभ्यः !

च । ( जेः परस्मैपदम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निगरणार्थेभ्यश्च चलनार्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्योऽयन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अदेः प्रतिषेधोक्तव्यः ॥

87. And after the causatives of verbs which have the sense of the 'eating or swallowing' and 'shaking or moving' parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The phrase 'when used in the causative (छेः) of the last sūtra is to be read into this also. The parasmaipada is ordained as an exception to sūtra 74 by which ātmanepada was ordained when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. The word निगरणं means 'eating,' and चलनं 'means' 'moving,' 'shaking.' As निगरयति he causes to swallow; आशयति he causes to eat. भोजयति he feasts. चलयति he moves; क्षोषयति, कम्पयति he shakens. This aphorism applies to transitive verbs, and to verbs whose agents in non-causative state are inanimate objects *i.e.*, not possessed with reason.

Vart:—The prohibition of the root अद् to eat, must be mentioned. The causative of अद् to eat, takes ātmanepada. Thus भक्ति देवदत्तः Devadatta eats; आदयते देवदत्तेन he is made to eat by Devadatta.

अणावकर्मकाच्चित्तवत् कर्तृकात् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणौ । अकर्मकात् । चित्तवत् । कर्तृकत् ( जेः पर० प० ) ॥

वृत्तिः । अण्यन्तो यो धातु र्कर्मकश्चित्तवत्कदकश्चतस्माङ्ग्यन्तान् परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

88. The affixes of the parasmaipada are employed after the causal of that verb, which in its non-causal state was intransitive and had a being endowed with reason for its agent; even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase छेः is understood here also. The Atmanepada was ordained by sūtra 74 when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This aphorism is an exception to that, and ordains parasmaipada. As भास्ते देवदत्तः Devadatta sits: आसयते देवदत्तं he makes Devadatta to sit. सोते देवदत्तः Devadatta sleeps, चाययति देवदत्तं he causes Devadatta to lie down.

Why do we say 'in its non-causal state'? For if the causative root is from another causative root, and not from a simple non-causative root, then the parasmaipada will not be employed. Thus 'if one person such as Devadatta, causes another person Yajnadatta, to cause a third person Ramadatta, to do an act denoted by an intransitive root, as 'mounting' for instance, though Ramadatta mounts for his own benefit, the verb to be used in such a case is आरोहयते in the Atmanepada, from the root आरोह् to mount; and not आरोहयति.' (Iengar's Guide to Panini).

Why do we say 'which was intransitive'? This rule will not apply if the verb in its non-causative state was transitive. Thus from कारि the causative from कृ, if the person caused to do the act denoted by the verb does it for his own use, comes only कारयते though the person has a will; for the original root कृ though a non-causative root, is not an intransitive root.' (*Ibid*).

Why do we say 'having a being endowed with reason for its agent'? For if the agent is a non-sentient object, the verb will be Atmanepadi. Thus from शोषि the causative from शुष् 'to dry' if that which dries is a thing not possessed of a will as व्रीहयः 'paddy,' for instance, though the fruit of the action *i.e.*, the drying, affects only the paddy itself, comes शोषयते in the Atmanepadi, though 'to dry' is an intransitive root; *e. g.*, शोषयते व्रीहीनात्पः the sun-shine causes the paddy to dry.' (*Ibid*).

न पादस्याङ्यमाङ्यसपरिमुहुरुचिन्वृत्तिषद्वसः ॥८९॥ पदानि ॥  
न । पा-दसि-आङ्यम-आङ्यस-परिमुह-रुचि-न्वृत्ति-षद-वसः । ( णेः । परस्मै-  
पदम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादसि आङ्यम आङ्यस परिमुह रुचि नृत्ति षद्वसः इत्येतेऽप्यन्तेऽयः परस्मैपदं  
न भवति ॥

वातिक्रमं ॥ पादेषु धेट उपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. But the affixes of the parasmaipada are not used after the causals of the verbs *pâ* to drink, *dam* to tame, *âyam* to extend, *âyas* to exert oneself, *parimuh* to be bewildered, *ruch* to shine, *ṛit* to dance, *vad* to speak, and *vas* to dwell.

The last two aphorisms had ordained parasmaipada instead of Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent, thus debarring the latter's action which would otherwise have taken place by virtue of sūtra 74. This sūtra prohibits the last two sūtras, and re-instates Atmanepada of sūtra 74. Thus root *पा* to drink, has the sense of *nigaraṇa* or swallowing, the roots *दम* &c., have sentient beings as their agent; the root *नृन्* to dance has the sense of *चलन* or moving, but still these verbs have *âtmanepada* affixes, and do not take parasmaipada in the causative. As *पाययते* he causes to drink, *दमयते* he causes to be tame, *आयामयते* he lengthens, *आयासयते* he troubles, *परिमोहयते* he entices, *रोचयते* he makes agreeable, *नर्तयते* he causes to dance, *वाद्यते* he makes to speak, *वासयते* he causes to dwell.

*Vart*:—The root *प्रेट्* should be enumerated along with *पा* &c. Thus *धापयेते* *शिशुमेकं* *समीची*. The doe suckles a young infant.

वाक्वषः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा । क्यषः । ( परस्मैपदम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यपन्ताद्धातोर्वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

90. The affixes of the parasmaipada are used optionally after the denominative verbs ending in the affix *kyash*.

The affix *क्यष* is ordained by sūtra III. 1. 12 *भृशादिभ्यो भृष्यच् वेजोपश्च ह्रजः* after the words *लोहित* &c. These root take optionally parasmaipada. As *लोहितायति* or *ते* he reddens. *पठपत्रायति* or *ते* he makes *paṭ paṭ*.

द्युद्भ्योलुङि ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्युद्भ्यः । लुङि । ( वा परस्मैपदम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्युतादिभ्यो लुङि वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

91. After the verbs *dyut* to shine &c. the terminations of the Parasmaipada are optionally employed, when the affixes of *luṅ* (aorist) follow.

The *Dyutādi* verbs are 22 in number, to be found in *Dhātūpāṭha* in the *Bhuadi* class. By the use of the word *द्युद्भ्यः* in the plural in the sūtra, the force is that of &c. These verbs are *anudatta* and so by sūtra 12 they would have been invariably *âtmanepadi*, this aphorism makes them optionally

so in the aorist. Thus अरुचतन् or अयोतिष्ठ he shone. In other tenses than the aorist ( लृट् ) these verbs are invariably Atmanepadi. As चोतते he shines.

For a list of Dyutādi verbs see Dhatupaṭha.

वृद्भ्यः स्यसनेः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्भ्यः । स्य-सनेः । ( या । परस्मैपठ ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्, वृध् शध् स्यन्त्कृप् । एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्येसनि च परतो वा परस्मैपरं भवति ॥

92. After the verbs vṛit to exist &c., Parasmaipada is optionally employed when the affixes sya (Future and conditional) and san (Desiderative) follow.

The वृतादि verbs are five in number and are included in the वृतादि sub-class. They are वृत् to be, वृध् to grow, वृध् to fart or break wind; स्यन्त् to ooze, and कृप् to be able. As 1st Future वर्त्स्यति or वर्त्सिष्यते, it will be, conditional अवरत्स्यत् or अवर्त्सिष्यत्; Desiderative विवृत्सति or विवर्त्सिषते &c.

In other tenses than the above, they are always Atmanepadi. As वर्त्तते it is.

लुटिचकृपः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटि । च । कृपः । ( स्यसने वा परस्मैपठ )

वृत्तिः ॥ लुटि च स्यसनेश्चकृपे परस्मैपरं वा भवति ॥

93. After the verb कृप to be fit, Parasmaipada is optionally employed, when लृट् (1st Future) is affixed, as well as when sya and san are affixed.

The verb कृप् is one of the five verbs of the sub-class, वृतादि of the last aphorism. Therefore it will take both parasmaipada and Atmanepada, when the affixes स्य or सन् follow. The present sūtra makes the additional declaration in the case of 1st Future or लृट्. Thus in लृट् we have:—कल्प्सासे or कल्प्सासे thou wilt be; in 1st Future we have:—कल्पिष्यते or कल्पस्यति he will be; in the Desiderative we have:—विकल्पसति or विकल्पिषते; in the conditional we have:—अकल्पस्यत् or अकल्पिष्यत्.



ओ३म्

# ॥ त्रय प्रथमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER IV.

आकडारादेका संज्ञा ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ कडाराद्, एका-संज्ञा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कडाराः कर्मधारय इति वक्ष्यति आ एतस्मात् सूत्रार्थेयदित कर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः तत्र एकासंज्ञाभवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kaḍā-rāḥ Karmadhāraye (II. 2. 38) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

What is that name then? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2.) and that which were its claim disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name. As a short vowel is called 'light' by I. 4. 10, and it is also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11.) Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name, *i.e.*, 'heavy.' Thus in भिद् to divide छिद् to split, the इ is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in शिक्षा teaching भिक्षा begging.

Thus in the root तक्ष् the अ is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form अतक्षत्. Similarly अररक्षत्. The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषेधे, परम्, कार्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ (सुल्यबलविरोधो विप्रतिषेधः) तस्मिन् विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्यम् भवति ॥

2. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिषेध means 'opposition of rules of equal force.' When two topics having different objects in view find scope of action simultaneously in one particular case, that opposition of equal forces is called

vipratishedha. A general rule (utsarga) and its exception (upavâda), or an invariable (nitya) and an optional (anitya) rule, or an antaranga and a bahiranga rule, are not rules of equal force. There the stronger prevails against the weaker. As an example of rules of equal force, see VII. 3. 102. and VII. 3. 103. The first rule declares, 'when a case-affix beginning with a letter of yañ pratyâhâra follows, the long vowel is substituted for the final of an inflective base ending in a short अ.' As Vṛiksha + bhyâm = Vṛikshâbhyam. The next rule declares :—'When a plural case-affix beginning with a letter of jhal pratyâhâra follows, ए is the substitute for the final short अ of an inflective base.' As Vṛiksha + su = Vṛiksheshu. But when the plural case-affix bhyaḥ follows, what rule are we to apply? For the letter bha belongs both to the pratyâhâras yañ and jhal. Are we to lengthen the short अ, or substitute ए? The present sūtra gives the reply, ए is to be substituted because VII. 3. 103 ordaining ए follows next to VII. 3. 102. Thus Vṛiksha + bhyaḥ = Vṛikshebhyaḥ.

युस्याख्यौ नदी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई-ऊ, स्त्री-आख्यौ, नदी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईकारान्तमकारान्तं च स्याख्यं सञ्चरूपं नदी संज्ञं भवति ॥

3. Word-forms ending in long î and û being names of females are called Nadi.

The word यू is compound of ई + ऊ. The word sryâkhyā means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grâmañi has. As the words कुमारी Kumārī a virgin, यवामू yavâgûḥ rice gruel. The declension of nouns of nadi class is somewhat peculiar which will be treated of later. As see Rule VII. 3. 112 आद् is the augment of the case-affixes having an indicatory ङ when they come after a word ending with a Nadi.

Why do we say ending in ई and ऊ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words. Thus while the dative of कुमारी will be कमार्यै, the dative of बुद्धि will be बुद्धिने .

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadi. As ग्रामणी: leader of a village; सेनानी: leader of an army; खलपू: a sweeper; their dative being ग्रामण्ये, सेनान्ये खलप्ये .

Why have we used the word âkhyâ 'name' in the text? Because feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामण्ये खलप्ये and खलप्ये स्त्रियै.

ने यद्बुद्ध्यानाव स्त्री ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इयद्-उवद्-स्यानी, अस्त्री, (यूनदी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयद् उवदोःस्थान मनयोरितीयद्बुद्धस्थानो तौ यू नदीसंज्ञौ न भवतः ॥

4. Feminine words ending in *i* and *û* which admit the substitute (इयङ्) *iyañ* and (उवङ्) *uvañ* (VI. 4. 77) are not called Nadi; except the word *strî*, (which is called nadi notwithstanding its substituting *iyañ*).

The definition of Nadi given in the last sūtra was rather too wide, this limits the scope. Thus श्री, happiness, भ्रू, brow, admit the substitutes *iyañ* and *uvañ* respectively, and are not nadi. Their vocative singular is हे श्रीः, हे भ्रूः &c., while the vocative singular of *strî* is हे त्रिः.

वाऽऽमि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आमि, (नेयङुवङ्-यू-नदी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयङुवङ्स्थानो यू अमिपरतो वा नदीवंतो न भवतः ॥

5. Feminine words ending in *i* and *û*, though admitting *iyañ* and *uvañ* substitutes, are optionally termed Nadi, when the affix *âm* (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word *strî*, which is always Nadi.

श्री + आम् = श्री इयङ् + आम् = श्रियाम्; भ्रू + आम् = भ्रूयाम्; or श्री + आम् = श्री + नुद् + आम् (VII. 1. 54.) = श्रीणाम्; भ्रू + आम् = भ्रूणाम्. But *strî* is always nadi, and we have स्त्रीणाम् *strînâm*.

To the absolute prohibition enjoined by the last sūtra, this allows an option in the case of Genitive Plural.

ङिति ह्रस्वश्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङिति (ङ्-इति) ह्रस्वः, च, (यू ल्या-नदी-इयङुव-वा-अस्त्री) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङिति परतो ह्रस्वश्च व्योः सम्बन्धी चः कयाद्यो इयङुवङ्स्थानो च डू वा नदीवंतो भवतः ॥

6. When a case-affix having an indicatory *ñ* (*ñit*) follows, then feminine words ending in short *i* and *û* are optionally termed Nadi, as well as feminine nouns in long *i* and *û* which admit of *iyañ* and *uvañ*; but not so the word *strî*, which is always Nadi.

Feminine words in long *i* and *û* have been defined as nadi, words in short vowels can never be termed nadi, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition if they take *iyañ* and *uvañ*. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory *ñ* follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory *ñ* are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have :—

Dative मत्वे or मत्वे घेनवे or घेनवे श्रिये or श्रिये ; Ablative Genitive मतोः or मत्वाः घेनो or घेनोः श्रियः or श्रियाः ; Locative मतो or मत्वाम् घेनो or घेनो श्रियि or श्रियां . So also भुवे or भुवे &c. But stri is always छिये &c.

शेषो घ्यसखि ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषः , घि , असखि , (ह्रस्व) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषो ऽत्र पिसंज्ञो भवति सखिशब्दं वर्जयित्वा । क थ शेषः ? इत्स्वनिवर्णोवर्णान्त-यत्नस्याख्यं , स्याख्यं च यत्ननदीसंज्ञकं स शेषः ॥

7. The rest of the words that end in short इ and उ are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

This defines the word ghi. The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on. The word hrasva is understood in this sūtra. The word śesha or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short इ or उ which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not nadi words.'

As अग्नि fire. Before case-affixes having an indicatory ण, the ghi nouns gūṇate their vowel VII. 3. 111. As अग्नि + हे = अग्ने + ए = अग्ने to the fire. So also वायु × हे = वायवे to the wind. But the declension of sakhi in these cases is:—सख्या सख्ये सख्युः and सख्यौ .

पतिः समास एव ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतिः , समासे , एव , (घि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दः समास एव पिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

8. The word pati is called ghi only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the last sūtra ; the present sūtra is therefore a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पर्या by the lord but प्रजापतिना by the lord of creatures. So also पर्ये and प्रजापतये ; पर्युः and प्रजापतेः , पर्यौ and प्रजापतौ &c. When पति is ghi, there is gūṇa of the vowel before the four डित् affixes by VII. 3. 111.

षष्ठी युक्तश्छन्दसि वा ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी-युक्तः , छन्दसि , वा , (पतिः घि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठ्यन्तेन युक्तः पतिशब्दः छन्दसि विषये वा, पिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

9. The word pati when used in connection with a noun ending in the sixth or genitive case, is ghi, optionally, in the Chhandas (veda).

The word pati is understood in this sūtra. By the last sūtra, pati would have not been ghi when not in composition. This sūtra makes an exception to that when this word occurs in the Vaidic literature.



कुलुञ्चानां पत्नये or पत्न्ये नमः salutation to the lord of the Kulunchas.

Why do we say 'when used in connection with a noun in the genitive case'? Observe मया परया जरदृषिर्यथासः .

Why do we say 'in the Chhandas'? Observe मामस्य पत्न्ये .

ह्रस्वं लघु ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वम्, लघु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वमक्षरं लघुसंज्ञं भवति ॥

10. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

This defines the word Laghu. A hrasva vowel which has already been defined (I. 2. 27), is under certain circumstances called laghu or 'light'; thus the i of निर to break, is laghu; and by being laghu it is gunated before the affix ता + आ, as भेत्ता he will break, by virtue of the rule VII. 3. 86, which declares that a laghu penultimate vowel is gunated before a Sarvadhataka or an Ardhadhataka affix. So also डेत्ता, भञ्जीकरत् and भञ्जीहरत् .

संयोगेगुरु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोगे, गुरु, (ह्रस्वम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगे परतो ह्रस्वमक्षरं गुरुसंज्ञं भवति ॥

11. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

A hrasva vowel however is not to be called 'light' when it is followed by a conjunct consonant. As the i of शिक्षा 'learning' is a heavy vowel. Thus शिक्षा is derived from शिक्ष + अ (III. 3. 103, let the affix अ come after that verb which has a heavy vowel and ends in a consonant when the word to be formed is feminine). So also कुण्डा and भिक्षा .

दीर्घञ्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घम्, च, (गुरु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घवाक्षरंगुरुसंज्ञं भवति ॥

12. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).

This is clear the anuvritti of the word conjunct is not understood in this sūtra. As I of ईहांचक्रे he endeavoured, ईहांचक्रे he saw. Here the letter ई is guru, and because of its being called guru, the rule III. 1. 36 is applied in forming the perfect tense by the addition of the augment आम्. Thus all long vowels, and short vowels followed by conjunct consonants are guru or heavy. All other short vowels are laghu.

यस्मात् प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्यये ऽङ्गम् ॥१३॥ पदानि ॥ यस्मात् ॥

प्रत्यय-विधिः, तद्-आदि, प्रत्यये, अङ्गम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मात् प्रत्ययो विधीयते धातोर्वा प्रातिपदिकाश्च तदादि षण्डरूपं प्रत्यये परतो ऽङ्गसंज्ञं भवति ॥

13. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base (aṅga).

The words of this sūtra require some explanation. Yasmāt after whatsoever; pratyaya-vidhih compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhih, a precept, i.e. a rule enjoying an affix; tadādi, 1. S. that which begins therewith; pratyaye 7. S. = in a pratyaya i.e. when a pratyaya follows (I. 1.) is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (Dhātu) or a nominal base (prātipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an aṅga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmāt is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as aṅga; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word aṅga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ + ता = कर्ता he will do हर्ता he will lose. करिष्यति, हरिष्यति Here because the root कृ and हृ gets the name अङ्ग they are gunated by (VII. 3. 84) similarly because उपगु &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhied in औपगवः &c.

The words कृ + हा are anga with regard to the affix-ता &c. उपगु + अप् = औपगवः; कपाठवः. Here upagū and kapaṭu are anga with regard to अण. Similarly कृ + ह्य + वः = करिष्य + वः = करिष्यावः. Here the whole word-form Karishya is regarded as anga, and as such the short a is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix वाङ् is enjoined after the word कृ, the form which begins with कृ i.e. karishya will also be called anga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the sūtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate affixes like sya &c., or नुम् before the final affixes. Thus कुण्ड + नुम् + इ = कुण्डन् + इ = कुण्डानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) कुण्ड + नुम् + इ = कुण्डानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) कुण्ड + नुम् + इ = कुण्डानि + इ = कुण्डानि, bowls. Here the whole form कुण्डानि is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix इ by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word pratyaya? Without it the rule would have run thus:—'After whatever there is anything enjoined &c., is called Anga.' Then in स्त्री + ह्यती = स्त्रयती. Here sandhi of vowels is enjoined between स्त्री + इ = स्त्री. If स्त्री was here an Anga, then its last vowel would have been replaced by ह्यत् (VI. 4. 77), the form being स्त्रियति.

Why have we used the word विधि? Had we omitted it the rule would have run thus:—"After whatsoever there is an affix, whether root or prātipadika is Anga." Thus in ह्यि अधुना, though the affix adhunā is placed after

the word dadhi, it is not enjoined by any rule; and the word दधि is not called anga. Had it been so called, then the इ of dadhi should have been elided by rule VI. 4. 148.

The word pratyaya has been repeated twice in this sūtra in order to show that when an affix is elided, the term anga will not apply to what stood before it. Thus in the compound word स्त्रिये + अर्थे = ह्यर्थे for the sake of the woman. Here in forming the Tat purusha compound the dative case-affix after the word स्त्री has been elided, for as a general rule case-affixes are elided in forming compounds. If the word स्त्री after its affix had been elided, still retained its old designation of Anga, the स्त्री + अर्थे would have been स्त्रियर्थे, the augment iyañ being added by the rule already referred to above.

सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्-तिङ्-अन्तम्, पदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तं तिङन्तं च शब्दरूपं परसंज्ञं भवति ॥

14. That which ends in sup (case-affix) IV. 1. 2; or in tiñ III. 4. 78 (tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

The sup or case-affixes are those by which nouns are declined; and tiñ are tense-affixes by which verbs are conjugated. They have already been given before. Thus ब्राह्मण + जस् = ब्राह्मणाः the Brāhmaṇas पचन्ति they cook.

It might be asked by a caviller why the word भन्त has been used in the aphorism, for by the rule of tadanta given in Sūtra I. 1. 72 a rule relating to sup will mean and include also that which ended with a sup-affix. To this we reply, that the very fact that the word anta is used in this sūtra, indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that the Tadanta rule of Sūtra 72 Chapter I does not apply to rules of sanjñā (definition) made with regard to affixes. Thus tarap and tamap affixes are called gha by Sūtra I. 1. 22. The tadanta-vidhi will not apply here; words ending with these affixes will not be called gha. Thus ब्राह्मणितरा will not be called gha, for had it been so called, the long ई will be shortened in गौरी ब्राह्मणितरा. In short, 'an affix when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term (sanjñā) does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.'

नः क्ये ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, क्ये, (पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नान्तं शब्दरूपं क्ये परतः परसंज्ञं भवति ॥

15. The word-form ending in n, is called pada, when kya follows (i.e., the affixes kyach, kyañ and kyash).

These are affixes by which denominative verbs are formed from nouns. See. III. 1. 8, 11, and 13. A word ending in न is called pada, when these affixes follow. Thus राजन् + क्यच् = राजीय 3rd Per, s. राजीयति he

behaves like a king. So also राजन् + क्यच् = राजायते (VII. 4. 25.) चर्मन् + क्यच् = चर्मायते or चर्मायति. The result of its being called pada is that the न् of राजन्, चर्मन् &c., is elided by Sûtra VIII. 2. 7. (there is elision of न् final in a pada which is entitled to the designation of prâtipadika). Thus राजन् + क्यच् = राज + य = राजीय (VII. 4. 33).

These three affixes क्यच् &c., come after case-inflected words (*i.e.*, words ending in sup), and though, before these affixes, the case terminations are elided, still by Sûtra I. 1. 62 such words would have retained the name of pada which they got by Rule 14 of this Chapter. The present sûtra however makes a restriction (niyama). It declares that only words ending in न् retain the name of pada; while all other case-inflected words before these affixes do not retain that designation. Thus the words वाच् speech, कुच् a ladle are not treated as pada and we have वाच्यते and कुच्यते. Had they been pada, the च् would have been changed into क् by VIII. 2. 30.

सिति च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स-इति, च, (पदम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सिति प्रत्यये परतः पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

16. When an affix having an indicatory च् follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

The sûtra 18 of this chapter teaches that before certain affixes, the preceding word is called bha. This sûtra declares an exception to that by anticipation. Thus Rule IV. 2. 115 declares:—"Affixes टक् and छच् come after the vriddha (I. 1. 74) word भवत्." Here the affix छच् has an indicatory च्, therefore the word भवत्, standing before it, will be called pada. Thus भवत् + छच् = भवतीयः VII. 1. 2. belonging to you. The result of being pada is that त् is changed into इ (VIII. 2. 39). Similarly च् is इत् in युच् (After the word ūrnâ there is yus V. 2. 123). Thus ऊर्णायुः; so also चच् V. 1. 106, has च् as indicatory. Thus ऋत्विजः There is no गुण because of its being pada.

स्वादिष्व सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिषु, असर्वनामस्थाने, (पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादिषु प्रत्ययेषु परतः सर्वनामस्थानवर्जितेषु पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

17. When the affixes beginning with सु (IV. 1. 2) and ending in क् (V. 4. 151.) follow, not being Sarvanâmasthâna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada.

The affixes beginning with su and ending with kap are meant by the above sûtra. Thus the case-affix भ्याम् (Ins Dual) is an affix included in the above. Thus राजन् + भ्याम् = राजभ्याम्, राजभिः, राजसं, राजवा, राजतरः, राजतम्. The न् is elided by being pada.

Why do we say 'when not a Sarvanâmsthâna'? Observe राजन्-+ षो = राजानौ two kings. राजानः kings. The न् is not elided.

यधि भम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ य्-अधि, भम्, (स्यादिद्वयस०)

वृत्तिः ॥ यत्कारादावजातो य स्वादौ सर्वनामस्थानवर्जिते प्रत्यये परतः पूर्वं भवंतं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नभोऽङ्गिरोमनुषां वस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृषण्यस्वश्रयोः ॥

18. And when an affix, with an initial y or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with su and ending in k, follows, not being Sarvanâmsthâna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

This debars the application of pada. Thus गर्ग + यम् (IV. 1. 105) गार्ग्यः a grandson of Garga. So also वारस्यः. The affix याँ begins with a ya and the word garga being treated as Bha its final अ is elided before the affix by VI. 4. 148.

So also दक्ष + इम् = दक्षिः (IV. 1. 95) grandson of Daksha दक्षिः. Here the affix इम् begins with a vowel the word standing before it being Bha, it causes elision of the final अ of daksha.

The word यधि is in the 7th case meaning when य् or अच् follow; and by the last *Vart* of Sûtra I. 1. 72, it means 'when an affix beginning with ya or ach follow.'

*Vart*:—The words नभस्, अङ्गिरस् and मनुष् should be treated as Bha when the affix इत् follows. Thus नभस्वत् like the sky. अङ्गिरस्वत् like the Angiras. मनुष्वत् like the man. By being Bha, the स् is not changed into इ, which it would have been, had it been a pada (VIII. 2. 66).

*Vart*:—The words वृषन् is treated as Bha in the vedas when the words वसु and अश्व follow. Thus वृषण्यसु; वृषण्यश्व मेने. Here had the word vṛishan been treated as pada, the न would not have been changed into ण (See Rule VIII. 4. 37); and this न would have been dropped before the affix vasu by VIII. 2. 7.

तसौ मत्वर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ त-सौ, मत्तु-अर्थे, (भम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारान्तं सकारान्तं शुन्दरूपं मत्वर्थे प्रत्यये परतो भवंतं भवति ॥

19. The word-form ending in t or in s is called Bha when an affix with the force of matup ('whose is it,' 'or in whom it is' V. 2. 94) follows.

The word Bha is understood in this sûtra. Thus is the word वदधित्वत् having butter milk Nom. Sing. वदधित्वान् घोषः the herdsman having butter milk, विद्युशान् वज्राहकः the cloud full of thunder. So also वासवी famous;

पयस्वी full of milk. Thus उद्विषत् + वत् = उद्विषवत्, यशस् + विनि (V. 2. 121) = यशस्विन्. By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is debarred in their case. That is to say the final त् of uदास्वित् &c., and the स् of यासास् &c., are not changed into व् and र् respectively, which had they been pada words would have been the case by the action of Sūtra VIII. 2. 39, and VIII. 2. 66. *vis.*, उद्विषवत् and यशस्विन् which are incorrect.

अयस्मयादीनि च्छन्दसि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अयस्मय-आदीनि,  
छन्दसि, ( भम् )

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस्मयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि च्छन्दसि विषये साधुनि भवन्ति ॥

20. Words like ayasmaya &c., are valid forms in the chhandas (veda).

These words being taught here in the topic relating to pada and Bha, show that they have been properly formed in the chhandas by the application of the rules of Bha and pada. Thus अयस् + मय = अयस्मय made of iron. Here the word अयस् is treated as Bha and hence the स् is not changed into र्. Thus अयस्मयं वर्नं iron-made coat of mail. अयस्मयानि पात्राणि iron vessels. The present form of this word is अयोमयं. In some places both these pada and Bha apply simultaneously. Thus in the word ऋक्त् formed by ऋक् + वत्, the क् is first changed into क् by treating the word ऋक् as a pada. Then the word ऋक् is treated as bha, and therefore the क् is not changed into ग् before वत्. For had it been pada, the form would have been ऋग्वत् Rigvat. These irregularly formed words occur only in the chhandas or Vedic literature. Thus स सुद्भास ऋक्ता गणेन .

बहुषु बहुवचनम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुषु, बहु-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुषु बहुवचनम् भवति ।'

21. In expressing multitude, a Plural case affix is employed.

When it is intended to denote multitude those affixes should be employed after nouns and verbs, which denote plural number. Thus ब्राह्मणः पठन्ति The Brahmins read.

This rule applies to words which are capable of expressing numbers. Indeclinables (Avyaya) do not admit of numbers, and consequently they are always in singular number which is the general form.

द्विकयो द्विवचनैकवचने ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-एकयोः, द्विवचन-  
एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वित्वैकत्वयोरर्थयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने भवतः ॥

22. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

This is also clear. When duality is to be expressed, a dual case-affix should be employed, and in the case of unit, the singular case-affix. Thus ब्राह्मणौ पचतः the two Brahmins cook. ब्राह्मणः पचति the Brahmin cooks.

कारके ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारक इत्यधिकारो वेदितव्यः, यदित्त ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः कारक इत्येवं तदे-  
दितव्यम् ॥

23. The phrase 'kāraka' (meaning 'in the special relation to a word expressing an action') is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a kāraka. Thus in 'cooking,' the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus 'Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master.' Here Rama is agent kāraka; 'food' is object kāraka; 'vessel' is a locative kāraka, fire is an instrumental kāraka, 'furnace' is the ablative kāraka and 'master' is the dative kāraka.

The word 'kāraka' thus is synonymous with the word cause (hetu) and occasion (nimitta). All the various causes and occasions that are required to complete an action will be kārakas. Out of the seven cases in which a Sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a kāraka to a verb.

ध्रुवमपाये उपादानम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ध्रुवम्, अपाये, अपादानम् (कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्रुवं यदपाययुक्तमपाये साध्ये यदवधिभूतं तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ झगुप्साविरामप्रमादार्थानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

24. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point from which departure takes place is called apādāna or ablation.

This defines the Ablation or Apadāna kāraka. Thus ग्रामाद्गच्छति he comes from the village. पर्वताद्दरोहति he descends from the mountain. स्वार्थाद्धीनः lost his object. रथात् पतितः fallen from chariot. The Apadāna takes the 5th case-affix (II. 3. 28) and the above examples show this. When therefore this relation is to be expressed, 'the fixed point (like grāma, parvata &c., in the above) which is the limit denoted by a word dependent on a verb, is called ablation.'

*Vart*:—The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation. Thus:—अधर्मञ्जुगप्सते he dislikes injustice; अधर्माद्विरमति he ceases from injustice. धर्मात्प्रमादति he neglects justice.

भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-त्रा-अर्थानाम्, भय-हेतुः, (कारके अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभेत्पर्यानां प्रायत्पर्यानां च धातूनां प्रयोगे भयहेतुर्न स्तस्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

25. In case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger' that from which the danger or fear procedes is called Apādāna kāraka.

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection' govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चौरेभ्यो विभेति he is afraid of thieves, चौरेभ्य उद्विजते he is agitated because of the thieves. चौरेभ्यस्त्रायते or रक्षति . He protects or saves from the thieves.

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu) is put in the ablative case'? Observe चारण्ये विभेति or प्रायते he fears or protects in the forest.

पराजे रसोढः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पराजेः, असोढः, (का० अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परापूर्वस्य जयतेः प्रयोगेऽसोढो योऽर्थः सोढुं नशक्यते तस्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

26. In the case of the verb parāji, 'to be tired or weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called Apādāna kāraka.

When the verb जि to conquer, with the preposition parā has the sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable' it governs ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अध्ययनात् पराजयते he finds study unbearable.

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable.' Observe शत्रुं पराजयते he defeats the enemies.

वारणार्थानां वीप्सितः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वारण-अर्थानाम्, वीप्सितः (का० अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वारणार्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे य ईप्सितोऽर्थः तस्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

27. In case of verbs having the sense of 'preventing, the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off is called Ablation or Apādāna kāraka.

The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called vāraṇa or prevention. As यक्षेभ्यो गां वारयति or निवर्तयति he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley.



Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case'? Observe गां वारयति क्षेत्रे he wards off the cow in the field.

अन्तर्द्धा येनादर्शनं निवृत्ति ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्द्धा, येन,  
अदर्शनम्, इच्छति, (का० अपादा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्द्धानिमित्तं येनादर्शनमालनइच्छतितत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

28. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called Apādāna karaka.

Thus उपाध्यायादन्तर्द्धे or निह्नीयते he conceals or hides from the teacher; so that the teacher may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe चौरान् न दिदृक्षत्वे he does not wish to see the thieves. Here the term chauran is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apādāna kāraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he shows himself.

आख्यातापयोगे ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ-ख्याता, उप-योगे,  
(का० अपादा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपयोगे साध्ये य आख्याता तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

29. The noun denoting the teacher is called Apādāna or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

The word आख्याता means teacher, and उपयोग means acquiring knowledge in the regular way. Thus उपाध्यायादधीते or आगमयति he learns from the preceptor.

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe नदस्व भृषोवि he hears the player.

जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ जनि-कर्तुः, प्रकृतिः,  
(का० अपादा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जन्वर्थस्यजन्मनः कर्ता जायमानः तस्यया प्रकृतिः कारणं हेतुः तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

30. The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan to be born, is called Apādāna.

That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb jan, is called जनिकर्ता. That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the root jan

is put in the ablative case. As *भृङ्गच्छरो जायते*, the arrow is produced from horn *गोनयाद् वृश्चिको जायते* the scorpion is produced from cowdung.

**भुवः प्रभवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, प्रभवः, (का० अपा०) ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ भूकृत्तुः प्रभवो य स्तस्कारकमपादानसंतं भवति ॥**

31. The source of the agent of the verb *bhu*, to become, is called *Apādāna*.

The phrase 'of the agent (kartuh,) is understood here. The word *प्रभव* means the source or that from which anything arises. As *हिमवतो गंगा प्रभवति* the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas. *काश्मीरेभ्यो वितस्ता प्रभवति*. The Hydaspes has its source in Cashmere.

**कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणा, यम्, अभिप्रैति, सः, संप्रदानम्, (का०) ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणा, करणभूतेन कर्त्ता यमभिप्रैति तस्कारकं संप्रदानसंतं भवति ॥**

**वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाग्रहण मपि कर्त्तव्यम् ॥**

**वार्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणः करणसंज्ञा वक्तव्या संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा ॥**

32. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of giving, is called *Sampradāna* or recipient.

Though the word *कर्मणा* in the *sūtra* is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb 'to give.'

As *उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति* he gives the cow to the teacher. *माणवकाय भिक्षाम् ददाति* he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

*Vart*:—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As *आद्धाय निगर्हते* he censures for the sake of *Sraddha*. *युद्धाय सन्नद्यते* he prepares for battle. *पश्ये श्वेते* she sleeps for her husband.

*Vart*:—2. After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (*karma*) gets the name of Instrument (*karana*) and the recipient (*Sampradāna*) is called object (*karma*).

Thus *पशुना रुद्रं यजते* or *पशुं रुद्राय ददाति* he sacrifices with an animal to *Rudra*, which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to *Rudra*.'

**रुच्यर्थानां प्रीयमाणः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुचि-अर्थानाम्, प्रीयमाणः, (का० संप्रदानम्)**

**वृत्तिः ॥ रुच्यर्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे प्रीयमाणो योऽर्थं तस्कारकं संप्रदानसंतं भवति ॥**

33. In case of verbs having the signification of the root *ruch* 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called *Sampradāna* or recipient.

The verbs having similar meaning (*artha*) as the word *ruchi* or 'liking' are *इच्छयँ*. A desire or longing caused by something else, is called *ruchi*. As *देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः* the sweet meat pleases *Devadatta*. *यज्ञदत्ताय स्पर्धते अपूपः* *Yajnadatta* likes *Apupa*. Here *modaka* is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in *Devadatta*.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe *देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः पथि*. *Devadatta* likes *modak* in the way. The word *pathi* being in the 7th case.

श्लाघन्तुङ्स्त्र्याशपां शीप्स्यमानः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लाघन्तुङ्स्त्र्या-शपाम्, शीप्स्यमानः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लाघन्तुङ् स्त्र्या शप् इत्येतेषां शीप्स्यमानो योऽर्थे स्तस् कारकं संप्रदानसंतं भवति ॥

34. In case of verbs *ślāgh* to praise, *hnu* to take away, *sthā* to stand, and *śap* to curse, the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, these actions, is called *Sampradāna*.

The word *शीप्स्यमान* means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As *देवदत्ताय श्लाघते* he praises *Devadatta*, *i.e.*, while praising *Devadatta*, he wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As *देवदत्ताय ह्नते* he hides from (wishing that *Devadatta* should know of it) *Devadatta*. *देवदत्ताय तिष्ठते* she offers herself to *Devadatta* for (sexual embrace, wishing that he should know of it). *देवदत्ताय शपते* he reviles *Devadatta*.

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe *देवदत्ताय श्लाघति पथि*. Here *pathi* is in the Locative case.

धारे उत्तमर्णेः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धारेः, उत्तम-ऋणैः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धारयतेः प्रयोगे उत्तमर्णे योऽर्थे स्वस्कारकं संप्रदानसंतं भवति ॥

35. In the case of the verb *dhāri* 'to owe,' the creditor is called *Sampradāna*.

The word *उत्तमर्ण* is compounded of two words *उत्तम* best and *ऋण* debt meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to *अधमर्ण* debtor. As *देवदत्ताय शतं धारयति* he owes hundred to *Devadatta*.

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe *देवदत्ताय शतंधारयति ग्रामे* he owes hundred to *Devadatta* in the village. Here village is in the Locative case.

स्पृहे रीप्सितः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृहेः, ईप्सितः,  
(का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृह ईप्सायां, चुरादावदन्तः पठ्यते, तस्य ईप्सितो योर्ध्वस्तत्कारकं संप्रदान संज्ञं भवति ॥

36. In the case of the verb *sprīh* to desire, the thing desired is called *Sampradāna karaka*.

The verb *sprīh* to desire, belongs to the *churādi* class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As *पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति* he desires flowers, *फलेभ्यः स्पृहयति* he desires fruits.

Why do we say 'the thing desired.' Observe *पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति* he desires flowers in the forest. Here *वने* is in the Locative case.

क्रुधद्रुहेर्ष्यां सूयार्थानां यं प्रतिकोपः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-द्रुह-  
ईर्ष्या-असूय-अर्षानां, यं, प्रतिकोपः (का० संप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुधाद्यर्थानां प्रयोगे यं प्रतिकोपस्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

37. In the case of the verbs having the sense of *krudh* to be angry, *druh* to injure, *īrshya* to envy, *asūyā* to detract, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *Sampradāna*.

*Krudh* means non-tolerance, *droha* means doing wrong or hurt, *īrshya* jealousy; and *asūya* means to find out the faults of another. The word *kopa* includes all the above four sorts of actions. As *देवदत्ताय क्रुध्यति-द्रुहयति-ईर्ष्यति* or *असूयति* he is angry upon, (*i.e.* with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds out the faults of *Devadatta*. Here *Devadatta* is in the Dative case.

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed.' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus *भार्यामीर्ष्यति* he is jealous of his wife, *i.e.*, does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word *bhāryā* is in the accusative case.

क्रुधद्रुहो रूपसृष्टयोः कर्म ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-द्रुहोः, उप-  
सृष्टयोः; कर्म (का० यं प्रतिकोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुधद्रुहो रूपसृष्टयो रूपसर्गसंबन्धयो र्यं प्रतिकोपस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

38. But in the case of the verbs *krudh* and *druh*, when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *karma karaka* or object.

This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word upasrishta means having upasarga or preposition. As देवदत्तमभिक्रुष्यति अभिद्रुष्यति . When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As देवदत्ताय क्रुष्यति .

राधीक्ष्योर्यस्य विप्रश्नः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधि-ईक्ष्योः, यस्य, विप्रश्नः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधेरीक्षेश्चकारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति कीदृशं यस्य विप्रश्नः, विविधः प्रश्नः, विप्रश्नः; स कस्य भवति यस्य शुभाशुभं पृच्छयते ॥

39. In the case of the verbs rādh, to propitiate, and ikshh to look to, the person about whose good or bad fortune questions are asked is called Sampradāna.

The word vipraśna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus देवदत्ताय राध्यति-ईक्षते गर्गः Garga is favorable to or looks to Devadatta, the sense is that being casually asked by Devadatta, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Devadatta.

Another explanation of this sūtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As शिष्याय राधोति or ईक्षते वा गुरुः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः पूर्वस्य कर्ता ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्भ्याम्, श्रुवः, पूर्वस्य, कर्ता (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिआङ् इत्येवं पूर्वस्य शृणोतेः कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति कीदृशं पूर्वस्य कर्ता ॥

40. In the case of the verb Sru preceded by the prepositions prati and ān; and meaning 'to promise,' the person to whom promise is made (lit: the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradāna.

The compound verb प्रतिभू and आभू means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case. As देवदत्ताय गां प्रतिशृणोति—आशृणोति he promises a cow to Devadatta.

अनुप्रतिशृणश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-प्रति-शृणः, च, (का० संप्रदा० पूर्वस्य कर्ता) ४

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वस्य प्रतिपूर्वस्य च गुणातेः कारकं पूर्वस्याः क्रियायाः कर्तृभूतं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

41. In the case of the verb *gri*, preceded by *anu* and *prati*, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating,' the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called *Sampradāna*.

The phrase *pūrvasya kartā* of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As होत्रे ऽनुगृणाति . They encourage the Hotri, *i.e.*, the Hotri priest invokes first, the others then follow him in invocation and by so doing encourage him. The word अनुग्रः and प्रतिग्रः mean encouraging the invoker.

साधकतमंकरणम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधकतमम्, करणम्  
(कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियाप्रसिद्धौ यत् प्रकृतोपकारकं विवक्षितं तत्साधकतमं कारकं करणसंज्ञं भवति ॥

42. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or *karāṇa kāraka*.

As हस्तेण लुनाति he cuts with the sickle. परशुना विनक्ति he divides by the axe. The instrument कारक takes the third-case affix.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other *kārakās*, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense. Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गङ्गान्यां घोषः the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges. कूपे गर्गकुलम् the family of frogs in the well, *i.e.* on the sides of the well.

दिवः कर्म च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, कर्म, च, (का० साधक  
तमम् करणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः साधकतमं यत्कारकं तत्कर्मसंज्ञं भवति चकारात् करणसंज्ञं च ॥

43. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb *div* to play, is called *karma object*, as well as *karāṇa*, Instrument.

The present *sūtra* ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the *sūtra* is to indicate that *karāṇa* is also to be read into this. As भक्षान् शीघ्रयति or अक्षैर् शीघ्रयति he plays the dice or with the dice.

परिक्रयणे संप्रदानमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्रयणे,  
संप्रदानम्, अन्यतरस्याम् (का० साधकतमं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्रयणे साधकतमं कारकमन्यतरस्यां संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

44. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb *parikrī*, 'employing on stipulated wages,' is optionally called *Sampradāna* or recipient.

This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word *परिक्रयणे* means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time. As *शतान् परिक्रीतोऽनुग्रहि* or *शतेन परिक्रीतोऽनुग्रहि*.

ADHIKARANA.

आधारोऽधिकरणम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आधारः, अधि-  
करणम्, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकर्तव्योः क्रियाभ्यभूतयोर्धारण्य क्रियां प्रति च आधारस्तत्कारकमधिकरणं संज्ञं भवति ॥

45. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed by reason of the agent or the object being in that place is called *Adhikarāṇa* or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called *ādhāra*. As *कटे आस्ते* he is seated on the mat. *कटे शेते* he is sleeping on the mat. *स्याल्यां पचति* he cooks in the pot. The *Adhikarāṇa* takes the 7th case-affix.

अधिशीङ्स्यासां कर्म ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-शीङ्-स्या-  
आसाम्, कर्म, (का० आधारः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिपूर्वाणां शीङ् स्या आस् इत्येतेषां माधारीयस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

46. That which is the site of the verbs *śi* to lie down, *stha* to stand, *ās* to sit, when preceded by the preposition *adhi*, is however called *karma kāraka* or object.

This ordains accusative case, where otherwise by the last *sūtra* there would have been the Locative case. As *ग्राममधि शेते* *अधितिष्ठति* or *अप्यास्ते* he lies down, occupies or lies in the village.

अभिनिविशश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-नि-विशः,  
च, (का० आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिनिपूर्वस्य विशतेराधारी यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

47. That which is the site of the verb *abhi-*  
*niviś* to enter, is also called *karma-kāraka*.

As ग्राममभिनिविशते he resorts to the village. This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sūtra 44 should be read into it. Thus we have the following forms also पापेऽभिनिवेशः resorting to sin. कल्याणेऽभिनिवेशः resorting to good. The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhāsa.

उपान्वध्याङ् वसः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-अनु-अधि-आङ्-वसः,  
(का० आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उप अनु अधि आङ् इत्येव पूर्वस्य वसतेराभारो यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंतं भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वस्तेरप्रयर्थस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

48. That which is the site of the verb vas to dwell, when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and āṅ, is called karma-kāraaka.

As ग्राममुपवसति सेना the army dwells in the village पर्वतमुपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिवसति or आवसति.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means "fasting," or does not denote lying in a locality. As ग्रामे उपवसति he fasts in the village. Here the verb upavasati governs the locative case and not the accusative.

#### KARMA.

कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, ईप्सिततमम्,  
कर्म, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तुः क्रियया यदामुमितमं तत्कारकं कर्मसंतं भवति ॥

49. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which is especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कटं करोति He makes the mat. ग्रामं गच्छति he goes to the village. Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe माषेष्व रश्च बध्नाति he ties the horse in the gram field. Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as horse is not the agent of the verb, the word माष takes the locative case. Why do we use the word "most"? Observe पयसोदनं भुङ्क्ते he eats the food along with the milk. Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sūtra by anuvritti from the last sūtra, the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvritti of the word ādhāra does not extend to this sūtra, because as we do not take the anuvritti of the word karma into this sūtra, we do not take the



anuvritti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken the anuvritti of the word karma from the last sūtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very well say गेहं प्रविशति he enters the house, we could not say भोजनं पचति he cooks the food, सक्तुं पिबति he drinks saktu. By repeating the word karma in this sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-karak, takes the second case-affix.

तथा युक्तं चानीप्सितम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तथा, युक्तम्, च,  
अनीप्सितम्, (का० कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन प्रकारेण कर्तुं रोप्सिततमं क्रियया युज्यते तेनैव चेत् प्रकारेण यदनीप्सितं युक्तं भवति तस्य कर्मसंज्ञा विधीयते ॥

50. If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act becomes however similiarly connected with the action it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anipsita or object of aversion. Thus विषं भक्षयति he eats poison, चोरान् पश्यति He sees the thieves. ग्रामम् गच्छन् वृक्षमूला न्युपसर्पति going to the village, he plucks the roots of the trees.

अकथितं च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकथितम्, च, (का० कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकथितं च यत्कारकं तत्कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

51. And that kâraka which is not spoken of as coming under any of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called karma.

There are some verbs in Sanskrit which take what is called an akathita object, in addition to their usual direct one. As its name indicates, it is that object which is not otherwise kathita or mentioned by way of any of the other case relations, such as अपादान अधिकरण &c. and is, therefore optional. If the noun capable of taking this akathita object be not intended for any other case, it is put in the Accusative case with such verbs ; as, धेनुं शोधि पयः he milks the cow (her milk) ब्रजमवरुणद्धि गां 'he confines the cow to the fold.' Here धेनुं and ब्रजं are akathita or optional objects. If the speaker does not intend to have this object, the words will be put in their natural cases ; as, धेन्वाः (ablative) पयोशोधि, ब्रजे (locative) भवरुणद्धि गां.

The roots that are capable of governing two accusatives are mentioned in the following kârîkâ :—दुष्याच् पच् षण्ड् रुधि प्रच्छि चि ब्रू वासु जि मन्थ् दुष्याच् ॥ कर्मयुक्त्वावकथितं तथा द्यान्तो ह कृष् पश्यान् ॥

In the case of the roots दुह् 'to milk' याच् 'to beg,' पच् 'to cook,' दण्ड् 'to punish,' रुध् 'to obstruct or confine' प्रच्छ् 'to ask,' चि 'to collect' ब्रू to tell शाच् 'to instruct' जि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) मन्य् 'to churn' मुष् 'to steal,' and also in the case of नी, ह, कृष्, and बह् all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification, that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case; as, गां शोभि पयः (S. K.) 'he milks the cow'; बलिं याचते वसुधां.

'He begs the earth of Bali'; similarly तंडुलानोदनं पचति, गर्गाञ् शतं दण्डयति, म्रमवदण्डि गां, माणवकं पंधानं वृच्छति, वृक्षमवचिनोति फलानि, माणवकं धर्मं द्यूते-शास्ति वा, शतं जयति देवदत्तं, सुधां क्षीरनिधिं मय्नाति, देवदत्तं शतं मुष्णाति; माममजां नयति- हरति-कर्षति-बहति-वा are examples of the other roots in order. माणवकं धर्मं भाषते वक्ति वा, बलिं-वसुधां भिक्षते, तां स्वां संवरणस्यायै वरयामि विभावसी are instances of this kind of object, because भाष् or वाच् and भिष् or वृ have the same meaning as ब्रू and याच्, the roots given in the *kasikā*.

Obs.—The roots चि, मुष्, पच् मंथ्, रुध्, जि, कृष् हृ and ever बह् are of every rare occurrence as governing two accusatives, in classical literature, though given in the above list.

The roots mentioned above and others having the same sense, take two objects. One of them is principal, and the other, secondary. In the case of the first twelve roots from दुह् to मुष्, the nouns पयः, वसुधां, फलानि, सुधां, &c. are principal objects, and गां, बलिं, वृक्षं, क्षीरनिधिं &c. are secondary objects, for they can, according to the speaker's volition, be put in other cases. And in the case of the last four roots अजा, is the principal object and मानं the secondary. Thus that which is necessarily put in the accusative case in order to complete the idea of the verb, is the principal object, and that which may be put in the Accusative case, depending upon the speaker's will, is called the secondary object.

गति बुद्धि प्रत्यवसानार्थशठद् कर्माकर्म काणा मणिकर्ता स णी ॥ ५२ ॥  
पदानि ॥ गति-बुद्धि-प्रत्यवसान-अर्थ-शठद्कर्मा-कर्मकाणाम्, अणिकर्ता, सः,  
णी (कारके कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां बुद्ध्यर्थानां प्रत्यवसानार्थानां च धातूनां तथाचञ्च कर्मकाणा मकर्मकाणाञ्च अप्यन्तानां यः कर्त्ता स एवन्तानां कर्मसंज्ञो भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गत्यर्थेषु नी बहोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वहेर नियन्ट कर्त्तृकरयेति वक्तव्यम् ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आदि खाद्योः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भक्षेर हिंसार्थस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'motion' 'knowledge or information' and 'eating,' and of

verbs that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive verbs, that which was the agent of the verb in its primitive (non-*ṇi* or non-causal state), is called the object (*karma*) in its causative state (when the verb takes the affix (*ṇi*)).

In the case of roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e. g.

## PRIMITIVE.

शमवः स्वर्गमगच्छन्  
स्वे वेदार्थमविदुः  
देवा अमृतमाप्नुवन्  
विधिर्वेदमभ्यैत  
पृथ्वी सज्जिते भास्त

## CAUSAL.

शमून् स्वर्गमगमयत्  
स्वान वेदार्थं मवेदयत्  
देवान् मृतमाशयत्  
विधिं वेदमभ्यापयत्  
पृथ्वीं सज्जिते आसयत्

But in *गमयति रामो गोविन्दं* (*Rama makes Govind go*) if some body else (*विष्णु मित्र*) prompts *Rāma* to do this, we shall have to say *विष्णुमित्रो रामेण गोविन्दं गमयति* 'Vishnu mitra prompts Rāma to cause Govind to go.' Here 'Rāma' is not put in the Accusative case, because it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

Patanjali, in his *Mahābhāshya*, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word *शब्दकर्तृ* in the *sūtra गतिबुद्धि* &c. *शब्दकर्तृ* may be either *शब्दो येषां क्रिया* or *शब्दो येषां कर्म*

When we take the former interpretation, the roots *ह्यति* ( *हृ* ) *क्रंति* ( *क्रं* ) and *शब्दायते* (denom. of *शब्द*) have to be excluded from the rule; as, *ह्यति देवदत्तः ह्यायति देवदत्तेन*; *क्रंति-शब्दायते-देवदत्तः*; *क्रंदयति-शब्दायति-देवदत्तेन*. And the roots *भृ*, *ज्ञा* with *त्रि* and *लभ्* with *उप* must be included in the rule; as, *गृणोति विजानाति-उपलभते-देवदत्तः* *आवयति-विज्ञापयति-उपलभयति-देवदत्तम्*. When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots *जल्प्*, *भाष्* with *आ* and *जप* with *वि*, must be included in the rule; *जल्पति-विलपति-आभाषते-देवदत्तः*, *जल्पयति-विलापयति-आभाषयति-देवदत्तं*.

There are several exceptions and counter-exceptions to the preceding rule, which are important.

*Vart*:—The causals of *नी* 'to lead' and *वह्* 'to carry,' do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e. g. *भृत्यो भारं नयति वहसि वा* A servant carries a load. *भृत्येन भारं नाययति वाहयति वा* (S. K.) (He) causes a servant to carry a load.

*Vart:*—But वह्, when it has for its subject in the causal a word signifying a 'driver,' obeys the general rule; as, वाहा रथं वहन्ति. Horses draw the chariot. वहन्ति यवान् बलीवर्षाः.

*Vart:*—(b). The causals of the roots खाद् and खाद्, 'to eat,' govern the Instrumental case; e. g. बटुरन्नमन्ति खादति वा. The boy eats his food. बटुरान्नमादयति खादयति वा. (He) causes the boy to eat his food.

*Vart:*—(c). भक्ष्, when it has not the sense of हिंसा 'injury to a sentient thing,' governs the Instrumental; as, भक्षयति पिंडो देवदत्तः, भक्षयति पिंडो देवदत्तेन; but भक्षयति यवान् बलीवर्षाः, भक्षयति बली वर्षान् यवान्.

By 'intransitive' roots mentioned above is meant such roots as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of 'time,' 'place' &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker's volition, or when their meaning is, quite evident; as, किंकरः पत्नरः पत्नति. Here पत्नति, though transitive, is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence किंकरेण पत्नयति and not किंकरं; but मासमासयति देवदत्तं.

In forming the passive construction of casual verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged; e. g.

PRIMITIVE.	CAUSAL ACTIVE.	CAUSAL PASSIVE.
रामो ग्रामं गच्छति. Rama goes to a village.	रामं ग्रामं गमयति. (He) causes Rama to go to a village.	रामो ग्रामं गम्यते. Rama is caused to go &c.
भृत्यः कटं करोति. The servant prepares a mat.	भृत्येन भृत्यं वा कटं कारयति. (He) causes the servant to prepare a mat.	भृत्यः कटं कार्यते. The servant is made to prepare &c.
गोविंदो मासमास्ते. Govind sits for one month.	गोविंदं मासमासयति. (He makes Govind sit &c.	गोविंदो मासमास्यते. Govind is made to sit &c.

(a). But in the case of roots that imply 'knowledge' 'eating,' and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa e. g. माणवकं धर्मं बोधयति 'he makes Mananaka know his duty'; माणवको धर्मं बोध्यते or माणवकं धर्मं बोध्यते 'M. is made known his duty' or 'duty is made known to M.'; बटुरोन्नं भोजयति 'he makes the boy eat food.' बटुरोन्नं भोजयते or बटुरोन्नं भोज्यते (S. K.).

With regards to roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; .i.e., those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive Case, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, वामनो बलिं वसुधा-

याचते: ( ईश्वरो ) वामनेन बलिं वसुधां चाचयति '(God) makes Vamana ask Bali for Earth.' गोपीगुजां नगरं हरति; ( स्वामी ) गोपं गोपेन वाजां नगरं हारयति . '(The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town.'

इह क्लोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इ-क्लोः, अन्यतरस्याम्,  
(का० अणि कर्त्ता स णी कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरते: करोतेश्चाप्यन्तयोर्यः कर्त्ता स प्यन्तयो रन्यतरस्यां कर्मसंज्ञो भवति ॥  
वाचिंस्त्वं ॥ अभिवादि इष्टोरामनेपथ उपसंख्यानम् ॥

53. The agent of the verb in its non-*ni* (primitive) form in the case of *hri* to lose and *kṛi* to make, is optionally called *karma* or object when these verbs take the affix.

nf ( CAUSAL ).

PRIMITIVE.

CAUSAL.

As हरति भारं माणवकः  
The boy takes the load.

हारयति भारं माणवकं or माणवकेन .  
He causes the servant to take the load.

करोतिकटं देवदत्तः  
Devadatta makes the mat.

कारयति कटं देवदत्तं or देवदत्तेन .  
He causes Devadatta to make the mat.

*Vart*:—The subject of the primitive verbs अभिवर् and इष्ट्, when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or Instrumental case in the causal: as,

PRIMITIVE.

CAUSAL.

अभिवदति गुरुं देवदत्तः  
Devadatta bows down to the Guru.

अभिवदयते गुरुं देवदत्तं or देवदत्तेन .  
He makes Devadatta bow down to the  
Guru.

पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम् .  
The servants see the king.

दर्शयते भृत्यान् राजानं or दर्शयते भृत्यैः .  
He makes the servants see the king.

KARTRI.

स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता । (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रिया प्रसिद्धौ स्वतन्त्रेण विवक्ष्यते तत्कारकं कर्त्तृसंज्ञो भवति ॥

54. Whatever the speaker chooses as the independent, principal and absolute source of action is called *kartā* or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as, देवदत्तः पचति Devadatta cooks. स्थाली पचति the pot cooks.

तत् प्रयोजको हेतुश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रयोजकः, हेतुः, च,  
(का० स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजको योऽर्थः तस्कारकं हेतुसंतं भवति चकारात् कर्तृसंतं च ॥

55. That which is the mover thereof, i. e., of the independent source of action, is called Hetu or cause, as well as kartā or agent.

Thus कारयति he causes to be made, हरयति he cause to be taken. When hetu is employed as agent the verb is put in the causative form (III. 1. 26).

The force of the word च is to give both names to the mover of an agent, *vis.*, Hetu and kartā: otherwise by sūtra 1 of this Chapter only one name would have been given.

Nipāta.

THE PARTICLES.

प्राचीश्वरान्निपाताः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्, रीश्वरात्, निपाताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आधिरीश्वर इति बह्व्यति प्रागेतस्माद्वधेर्यानिर्त रुद्धमनुक्रमिष्यामः निपात संज्ञा स्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

56. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhīrī-śvare (I.4.97), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipāta or Particles.

The word प्राक् of this sūtra serves the same purpose as the word cha of the last; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapravachnīya take two names, *i. e.*, their one name as well as the name Nipāta. The letter र in प्राचीश्वरात् is to remove doubt, *i. e.*, aphorism I. 4. 97 should be taken as limit, and not sūtra III. 4. 13 which has the word iswari also.

चादयो ऽसत्त्वे ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-आद्यः असत्त्वे, (निपाता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादयो निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति न चेस्सत्त्वे वर्तन्ते ॥

57. The word cha 'and,' &c., are called Nipāta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

The following are particles (nipāta) च 'and' वा 'or' ए 'an expletive' अह 'vocative particle' एव 'only' 'exactly.' एवम् 'so, thus,' नूनम् 'certainly,' शश्वत् 'continually,' युगपत् 'at once,' भूयस् 'repeatedly,' सुपत् कूपत् 'excellently,' कुवित् 'abundantly,' नेत् चेत् 'if' चण 'if,' [the ण is indicative], च्व 'where,' तत्र 'there,' कच्चित् 'what if?,' नह 'no,' हन्त 'ah,'! माकिम् [माकीम्] नकिम् 'do not' आकीम् 'indeed!' माद् 'do not,' नम् 'not,' यावत् 'as much as,' तावत् 'so much,' स्वे न्वे हे 'perhaps,' रे (disrespectful interjection) औषद् औष

स्वाहा (interj.) 'oblation to the gods,' स्वपा 'oblation to the manes,' forefathers वषट् 'oblation to the gods,' ओम् (mystical ejaculation typical of the three great deities of the Hindu mythology), तुम् 'thouing,' तथाहि 'thus,' introducing an exposition, (खलु 'certainly,' किञ्च 'indeed,' अयं 'now' auspicious inceptive), सुष्ठु 'excellent,' स्व (attached to the present tense gives it a past signification), अद्द् 'fie' अ इ उ ञ् ञ ए ऐ औ औ. The vowels a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ai, o, au, when, as interjections, they indicate various emotions, differ from the ordinary vowels.

उम्, उक्कम्, वेलायाम्, मानायाम्, यथा, यत्, तत्, किम्, पुरा, तथा, (वधा), धिक्, हाहा, हेहे, (हहे), पाद्, प्याद्, आहो, उताहो, हो, अहो, गो, (नौ), अयो, मनु, मन्चे, मिथ्या, भस्ति, ब्रूहि, वु, नु, इति, इव, वत्, वात्, चन, वत, [सम्, वद्यम्, शिकम्, दिकम्,] सनुकम्, छन्द, (छन्द), शंके, शुकम्, खम्, खनात्, सनुतद्, नदिकम्, सस्यम्, वृतम्, अद्दा, इद्दा, नोचेत्, नचेत्, नहि, जातु, कथम्, कुतः, कुच, अच, अनु, हा, हे, ( है ), आहोस्वित्, शम्, कम्, खम्, दिप्त्या, पणु, वद्, सह, ( अनुषद् ), आनुषक्, अङ्ग, कद्, ताजक्, ( आजक ), अये, अरे, वाद् ( चाद् ), कुम्, खुम्, पुम्, अम्, इम्, सीम्, सिम्, सिः, वै .

To the list of indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality, the appearance of an upasarga (No. 59), of a word with one of the terminations of case or persons and of the vowels. In the example अवदत्तम् avdattam 'given away,' the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word (by VII. 4-47) would be अवत्तम् avattam. In the example ahanyuh अहंयुः 'egotistic,' the अहं is not identical with the aham 'I,' terminating in a case affix—because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the nominative case, could not be the first member, in such a compound. In the example, अस्तिक्षीरा asti-kshīra, a cow or the like 'in which there is milk,' the asti अस्ति must be regarded as differing from the word asti, 'is,' which ends with the affix of the third person singular, otherwise it could not have appeared as the first member in a compound.

प्रादयः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-आदयः, (निपाता असत्त्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादयो ऽसत्त्वे निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

58. The words pra &c., are called Nipāta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्रादयः or 'prepositions:' प्र, परा, अच, सन्, अनु, अव, निस्, वुस्, वि, आद्, नि, अधि, अपि, भति, सु, उत्, अभि, प्रति, परि, उप ॥

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the Pra &c., words two names, namely, those of Nipātas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, *i. e.*, when they are in composition with verbs. Not so however the च्छा &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signifying substances they are not Nipātas. As परा जयति सेना the excellent army conquers. Here the word परा is not a Nipāta.

उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गाः, क्रिया-योगे  
(प्रादयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादयः क्रिया योगे उपसर्गं संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ महच्छब्दस्य चोपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अरुच्छब्दस्योप संख्यानम् ॥

59. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As प्र + नयति = प्रणयति . Here the dental न is changed into cerebral ण because of the प्र getting the designation of upasarga (See sūtra VIII. 4. 14). Similarly परिणयति, प्रणायकः, परिणायकः .

Why do we say when in composition with a verb? When in composition with a noun they are not called upasargas. As प्रगतौ नायकोभूत्वाद् देशात् = प्रनायकोदेशः a country destitute of a leader. Here न is not changed into ण. Thus while प्रणायकः means 'a leader' the term प्रनायकः means destitute of a leader; though both have the same radical elements:—pra in one is an upasarga, in the other a Nipāta pure and Simple.

*Vart:*—The word मरुत् should be included in the list of upasargas. As मरुद्धिर्वत्तः = मरुत्तः given by Marut. मरुत् + दा + क्त = मरुत् + त् + त्त (VII. 4. 47). Here Marut being treated as an upasarga, though it does not end with a vowel, the दा is replaced by त्त by rule VII. 4. 47 which declares 'त्त the substitute of दा which is called ghu, when it is preceded by an upasarga that ends in a vowel, and is followed by an affix beginning with त्त which has an indicatory k.'

It might be objected, that as मरुत् does not end with a vowel, sūtra VII. 4. 47 does not apply. To this we say that otherwise the giving the designation of upasarga to मरुत् is superfluous; and in order that this should not be so, the fact of its not ending with a vowel is overlooked.

*Vart:*—The particle अत् should be included in the list of upasargas. Thus अत् + धा + षड् = अष्टा (III. 3. 106). Here because अत् is treated as an upasarga, that sūtra III. 3. 106 is made applicable.

गतिश्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, च, (प्रादयः क्रियायोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिसंज्ञकाश्च प्रादयो भवन्ति क्रियायोगे ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कारिका चण्डोप संख्यानम् ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुनश्चनसौ छन्दसि गतिसंज्ञो भवत इति दन्तव्यम् ॥

60. The words pra &c., are called also Gati, when in composition with a verb.



As प्रकृत्य, Now the gerund of the simple root कृ would have been कृत्वा, but as it is compounded with a gati word (II. 2. 18) the क्त्वा is replaced by क्यप् see S. II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37. प्र + कृ + क्यप् = प्रकृत्य (VI. 1. 71). Here pra being called gati we have compounding by rule II. 2. 18; and then we apply S. VII. 1. 37. Similarly प्रकृतम्. Here pra being a gati word retains its own accent by rule VI. 2. 49. 'a gati retains in a compound its own accent when it immediately precedes a second member that ends in kta, provided the latter denotes the object of the action which is expressed by the root of which kta is added.'

Similarly प्रकरोति, here pra being treated as gati gets annudatta accent by rule VIII. 2. 71. 1. 71 (and 8. 1. 57)

The yoga-vibhāga or the separation of one aphorism into two, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms. The annuvṛitti of gati only runs through the latter sūtras and not of upasarga. So that while pra &c., have two names upasarga and gati; uri &c., have only one name, namely, gati.

Thus in प्रणीतम् and अभिविक्तम्, by treating the words प्र and अभि as upasargas we change the न and स into ण and ष by rule VIII. 4. 14 and VIII. 3. 87: and again treating them as gati we regulate the accent.

*Vart:*—The words कारिका should be included in the list of Gati. As (1) कारिकाकार्य (2) कारिकाकृतम् (3) यत्कारिका करोति. In the first by taking it as gati we have samasa (II. 2. 18) and क्यप् (VII. 1. 37.) The other two cases illustrate accent.

*Vart:*—The words पुनर् and चनश् are treated as Gati in the Vedas. As पुनरुत्सवसूत्रवासी वेद्यम्. Here the word पुनर् being gati, causes स्युत् to take annudatta accent (VIII. 1. 70) चनोहितः. Here also the accent is regulated by VIII. 2. 71.

ऊर्यादि चिघडाचश्च ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊरी-आदि चिघ-डाचः, च, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्यादयः शब्दाः क्यन्ता राजन्ताश्च क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with dāch (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhū kri or as) are called Gati.

The affixes chvi and dāch are ordained when the verbs in composition is either कृ, भू or अश् (V. 4. 50 and 57) ūri &c., being read along with chvi and dāch; shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else; in order to entitle ऊरी to the name of gati.

The words कृरी and कररी mean to assent and spread. As कृरीकृत्य (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) कृरीकृतम् (VI. 2. 49), यद्वृरीकरोति (VIII. 2. 71). So with the word कररी. The following is a list of these words:—

पापी.	धूसी.	भंगकला.	फली.
ताली.	शकला.	गुलुगुधा.	विह्वी.
आवाली.	संगकला.	सजू.	आह्वी.
बेताली.	धंसकला.	फलू.	

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुह्वीकृत्य having made white what was not white.

So also words ending in डाच् as पटपटाकृत्य having made the sound pat.

अनुकरणं घानिति परम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुकरणम्, च ; अनिति-परम्, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुकरणमनिति-परम् क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

62. A word imitative of sounds is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

The phrase अनितिपरम् is a Bahuvrīhi compound; अन्-इति-परम् = 'that which has not the word इति after it.'

As खाद्कृत्य having made the sound khât. खाद्कृतम् (VI. 2. 49), यत्खाद्करोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe खादितिकृत्वा निरधीवत्.

आदरानादरयोः सदसती ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदर-अनादरयोः, सद-असती, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदरा नादरयो र्यथाक्रमं सदसच्छब्दो गतिसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

63. The words sat and asat when in composition with a verb are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference.'

As सत्कृत्य having honored (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) असत्कृत्य, सत्कृतम् or असत्कृतम् (VI. 2. 49) यत् सत् करोति or यसत् करोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe  
सत्कृत्वा क्वाण्डं गतः .

भूषणेऽलम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूषणे ; अलम् ,  
(क्लि० गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूषणे यो ऽलम् शब्दः स गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

64. The word alam when in composition with a verb is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings :—'prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.' The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament. As अलङ्कृत्य (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37); अलङ्कृतं (VI. 2. 49) यदलं करोति (VIII. 2. 71) when it does not mean ornament we have अलं भुक्त्वा ब्रजति he goes having eaten enough.

अन्तरपरिमहे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्-अपरि-ग्रहे ,  
(क्लि० गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तः शब्दोऽपरिमहे ऽर्थगतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तः शब्दस्या द्वि-विधि पत्येवूपसर्गसंज्ञावक्तव्या ॥

65. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of 'non-accepting,' in composition with a verb.

The word परिग्रह means 'taking' or 'accepting,' अपरिग्रह means therefore the opposite of this namely 'rejecting,' abandoning. As अन्तर्गत्य गुरुं गतः he went away having abandoned home; अन्तर्गतमनूतम् falsehood being abandoned. यदन्तर्हंस्ति .

Why do we say 'when meaning to abandon'? Observe अन्तर्हंस्त्वा मूषिकां श्येनो गतः the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.

*Vart* :—The word अन्तर् is treated as an upasarga for the purposes of the application of the following rules ; III. 3. 106 by which भद् is added ; rule III. 3. 92 by which क्ति is added ; and rule VIII. 4. 14 by which न is changed into ण. As अन्तर्द्धा , अन्तर्द्धिः and अन्तर्णयति .

कणमनसी अद्वाप्रतीघाते ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कणे-मनसी , अद्वा-  
प्रती-घाते , (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कणेशब्दो मनश्शब्दश्च अद्वा प्रतीघाते गतिसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

66. The words kane and manas are gati when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of 'reaction by satiation.'

The word **भ्रद्धा-प्रतीषात** means 'satisfaction of desire.' As **कणेहृत्य पयः पिबति** he drinks milk to his heart's content or till he is satisfied? So also **मनोहृत्य पयः पिबति**. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (भ्रद्धा) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense we have **कणे** or **मनोहृत्वागतः** he went away he satisfied.

**पुरो ऽव्ययम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरः , अव्ययम् , ( गतिः ) ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ असिप्रत्ययान्तः पुरः शब्दोऽव्ययं गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥**

67. The word **purah** in front of, when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called **gati**.

The pronoun **पूरं** 'front' with the affix **असि** forms **पुरस्**, and by S. I. 1. 38 it becomes an **Avyaya**. (See S. V. 3. 39 **pur** being substituted for **pūrva**). The object by making it **gati** is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 (3) to change the: **h** into **स्** by VIII. 3. 40. As **पुरस्कृतम्**, **पुरस्कृतम्** and **यत् पुरस्करोति**, when not an indeclinable we have **पूरः**, **पुरो**, **पुरः कृत्वा** **कारणगतः**.

**अस्तं च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तम् , च , ( गतिः अव्ययम् ) ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तं शब्दो मकारान्तोऽव्यय मनुपलब्धो वर्तते च गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥**

68. And the indeclinable word **astam** 'at home,' is called **gati**, when in composition with a verb.

The word **अस्तम्** is an indeclinable as it ends in **म्** (I. 1. 39); and means 'not visible.' As **अस्तंगत्य सविता पुनरुदेति** the sun having set, rises again **अस्तंगतानि धनानि** riches that have vanished. **यदस्तं गच्छति**, when not an indeclinable it is not **gati** as **अस्तं काण्डम्** the arrow has been thrown.

**अच्छ गत्यर्थेषु ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्छ , गति-अर्थ-वदेषु , ( गतिः अव्ययम् ) ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ अच्छशब्दोऽव्ययमभिशाब्दस्यार्थे वर्तते , च गत्यर्थेषु धातुषु वदतो च गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥**

69. The indeclinable word **achchha**, meaning 'before in the presence of,' is called **gati**, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb, 'vad' to speak.

The word **अच्छ** is an indeclinable and has the force of the word **अभिः**. As **अच्छगतम्**, **अच्छगतम्**, and **यदच्छगच्छति**. So also **अच्छोऽयच्छोऽहितम्** and **यदच्छ-वदति** when not an **Avyaya**, we have **उदकमच्छं गच्छति**.

**अदो ऽनुपदेशे ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदस् , अनुपदेशे , ( गतिः ) ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ अदः शब्दो ऽनुपदेशो गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥**

70. The word adas 'that' is called gati when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

The word upadeśa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadeśa. That is when it is not a demonstrative pronoun. As अद्ः कृत्व, अद्ः कृतम् and अद्ः करोति when used as a demonstrative pronoun we have अद्ः कृत्वा काण्डं गतः

तिरोऽन्तर्द्धौ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरः, अन्तर्द्धौ, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्द्धौर्ध्ववधानम्, तत्रतिरः शब्दो गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

71. The word tīras when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called gati when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोभूय. तिरोभूतम् and यत् तिरोभवति why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो भूत्वास्थितः i. e., standing apart.

विभाषाकृञि ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृञि, (गतिः अन्तर्द्धौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरः शब्दः करोती परतो विभाषा गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

72. The word tīras meaning 'disappearance' is optionally called gati, when the verb kri follows.

This is an example of प्राव-विभाषा. As तिरः कृत्व or तिरस्कृत्य (VIII. 3. 42): तिरः कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42). The change of visarga into स is optional VIII. 3. 42. When not meaning disappearance we have तिरः कृत्वा काण्डं तिष्ठति he stands having laid aside the stick.

उपाजेऽन्वाजे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपाजे-अन्वाजे, (विभाषा कृञि गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपाजेऽन्वाजेऽशब्दौ विभक्ति प्रथिरूपकौ निपातो दुर्बलस्य सामर्थ्याधाने वर्तेते तौ कृञि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

73. The words upāje and anvāje both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called gati when used along with the verb kri.

As उपाजे कृत्व or उपाजे कृत्वा having given support. अन्वाजे कृत्व or अन्वाजे कृत्वा.

साक्षात्प्रभृतीनिच ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ साक्षात्, प्रभृतीनि, च, (गतिः विभाषा कृञि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि शब्दरूपाणि कृञि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ साक्षात्प्रभृतिषु अर्थवचनम् ॥

74. The words sâkshât, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kri.

*Vart:*—In the words साक्षात् &c. the force of the affix च्चि is understood, namely making a thing what it was not before. As साक्षात् कृत्य or कृत्वा विध्याकृत्य विध्याकृत्वा making evident what was concealed before.

अनत्याधान उरसिमनसी ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनत्याधाने ; उरसिमनसी, (विभाषा कृञि गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनत्याधान मुपल्लेषणं तदभावे अनत्याधाने उरसिमनसी शब्दौ विभाषा कृञि गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

75. The word urasi, 'in the breast,' and manasi 'in the mind' are optionally gati when the verb kri follows, provided that they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As उरसिकृत्य or उरसिकृत्वा; मनसिकृत्य or मनसिकृत्वा. When it has the sense of placing we have उरसिकृत्वा पाणिं शेते he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast, मनसिकृत्वा वचनं ध्यायति he ponders having placed the word in his mind.

मध्ये पदे नियचने च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्ये पदे, निवचने, च; (विभाषा कृञि गतिः अनत्याधाने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्ये पदे निवचने इत्येते शब्दा, अनत्याधाने विभाषा कृञि गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

76. And the words madhye 'in the middle,' pade 'in the foot' and nivachane 'speechless' are optionally gati, when kri follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As मध्ये कृत्य or कृत्वा. पदे कृत्य or कृत्वा; निवचने कृत्य or कृत्वा.

But when it has the meaning of placing we have इस्तिनः पदे कृत्वा शिरः शेते he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.

नित्यं हस्ते पाणावुपयमने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, हस्ते-पाणौ उपयमने (गतिः कृञि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्ते पाणौ इत्येतौ शब्दौ कृञि नित्यं गतिसंज्ञौ भवत उपयमने ॥

77. The word haste 'in the hand,' paṇau 'in the hand' are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kri in the sense of 'marriage.'

As पाणौ कृत्य or हस्ते कृत्य having married. But हस्ते कृत्वा कार्षापणं गतः he went out having taken in his hand a kârshâpana (a coin).

प्राध्वं बन्धने ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राध्वम्, बन्धने, (गतिः कृञि नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राध्वमिति मकारान्तमन्वयमामुकूल्ये वर्त्तते, तदनुकूल्यं बन्धनहेतुकं यदा भवति तदाप्राध्वशब्दः कृञि नित्यं गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

78. The indeclinable word *prādhvam* followed by the verb *kṛi*, is always called *gati* when used in the sense of binding.'

The word *प्राध्वम्* ends in *म्* and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a *gati*: as, *प्राध्वंकृत्य* having bound. But when not meaning to bind, we have:—*प्राध्वं कृत्वां शकटं गतः* having made the carriage agreeable, he is gone.

जीविकोपनिषदाद्यौष्ये ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीविका-उपनिषद्दौ, औष्ये, (गतिः कृञि ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीविका उपनिषदित्येतां शब्दो औष्ये विषये कृञि गतिसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

79. The words *Jīvikā* and *upanishad* followed by the verb *kṛi* are called *gati* when used in the sense of 'likeness or resemblance.'

As *जीविकाकृत्य* having made it as if it was a means of living; *उपनिषद्कृत्य*—having made it like an *upanishad*. But *जीविकां कृत्वा गतः* having made his livelihood he is gone.

ते प्राधातोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, प्राग्, धातोः, (गतिः उपसर्गः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ते गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः धातोः प्राक् प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

80. The particles called *gati* and *upasarga* are to be employed before the verbal root: (that is to say, they are prefixes).

The word *ते* has been employed to include the term *उपसर्ग* also. The preceding examples all illustrate the application of this rule.

छन्दसि परेऽपि ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, परे, अपि, (गतिः उपसर्गं प्रा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये गत्युपसर्ग संज्ञकाः परेऽपि पूर्वेऽपि प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

81. In the *chhandas* (*veda*) these *gati* and *upasarga* are employed indifferently after the verbal root, as well as before it.

As:—*वायविन्द्रश्च सुन्वत आयातमुपनिष्कृतम् ॥ मद्दिनस्था पिया नरा (Rig. I. 2. 6).*

In this we have आयातमुप instead of उपायतम् 'vayu and thou Indra, ye heroes, come ye both quickly to the soma of the worshipper by this sincere prayer.'

व्यवहिताश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहिताः, च, (ग० उ० छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहिताश्च गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः छन्दसि दृश्यन्ते ॥

82. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are also seen separated from the verb by intervening words.

As:— इन्द्र वायू इमे सुता उप प्रयोभिरागतम् ॥ इन्द्रो वा मुशन्तिहि (Rig. I. 2. 4). "Indra and vayu, here are soma—libations for you. Approach, ye with pleasures for us. For the libations are desiring you." Here उप is separated from the word आगत by the intervening word प्रयोभिः.

KARMA PRAVACHANIYA.

कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यानित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामः कर्मप्रवचनीय संज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

83. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachaniya.

These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed upasarga and gati. As सुस्तुतं भवता well praised by you. सु सिक्तं भवता you have sprinkled. Here सु is a karma pravachaniya and qualifies the sense of the verb, i. e. it is an adverb. It is not an upasarga, for had it been so it, would have changed the च into च (VIII. 3. 65). The term karma pravachaniya is a big term compared with other technical terms such as, टि, चि, वृ &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word karmapravachaniya is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (प्रोक्तवन्त) an action ( कर्म ) is so called.

अनुर्लक्षणे ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः लक्षणे, (कर्मप्रवचनीयाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशब्दो लक्षणे चोत्पद्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

84. The word anu when it denotes a sign, is called karma-pravachaniya.

The word lakshana means a sign; an attendant circumstance an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of अनु in this case is that of 'after,' 'in consequence of,' because of, or being indicated by.' As जपमनु प्रावर्षत् it rained



after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers. To put it in other words, anu is a karmapravachniya when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

So also शाकलस्य संहितामनु प्रावर्षत् = शाकल्येन सुकृतां संहितामनुनिशम्य देवः प्रावर्षत्. The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Śākalya. The force of a karmapravachaniya, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example संहितां is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition अनु, but really governed by the verb अनुनिशम्य understood.

So also अनदुद् यज्ञमन्वसिचत्. The Taurus sprinkled water after the sacrifice, अगस्त्यमन्वसिचत् प्रजाः the people began sprinkling water after the rising of the canopus.

Why make unnecessarily this sūtra, when अनु would have been called karma pravachaniya even by force of sūtra 90 following, where also the word lakṣhaṇa occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the karmapravachaniyas should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8) even in expressing हेतु (II. 3. 23). Otherwise Rule 23rd of the third chapter of Book II would have set aside Rule 8 of the same by the maxim of परत्त्वं I. 3. 2; and would have caused a karama pravachaniya to govern an Instrumental case where the sense was that of hetu.

तृतीयार्थे ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-अर्थे, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशब्दं तृतीयायै द्योत्ये कर्मवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

85. The word anu is karma-pravachaniya when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of 'with' or along with. As नदीमनु अवसिता सेना the army lying along side the river. पर्वतमनु अवसिता सेना lying along the slopes of the mountain.

हीने ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हीने, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हीने द्योत्येऽयमनुः कर्म वचनीय संज्ञो भवति ॥

86. The word anu is karma pravachaniya when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

The word हीन means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to complete the sense. In other words अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As अनुशाकटायनवैयाकरणः 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākatāyana.'

उपोधिके च ॥ ८७ ॥ उप, अधिके, च, (हीने कर्म प्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपराजः अधिके हीने च दोत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

87. The word *upa* when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is *karma-pravachaniya*.

That is when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as *उप खार्यो द्रोणः*; a Drona is above a khāri. *उप निष्के कार्षापणः*; a karshapana is more than a Nishka. In this sense *उप* governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior (II. 3. 9). So also *उप शाकटायनं वैयाकरणः*; 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākatāyana.' In this sense *उप* governs the accusative case.

अप परी वर्जने ॥ ८८ ॥ अप-परी, वर्जने, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप परी शब्दौ वर्जने दोत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

88. The words *apa* and *pari* are *karma-pravachaniya* when meaning 'exclusion.'

The force of *अप* and *परि* is in this case that of 'with the exception of.' As *अपत्रिगतैर्भ्यो वृष्टो देवः*; it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigarta. So also *परि त्रिगतैर्भ्यो वृष्टो देवः*. In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3. 10). When not having these senses, they are not *karma-pravachaniya*. As *अोटनं परिपिच्छति*. He waters the rice. Here it is an *upasarga*, and hence changes the *स* into *ष*.

आङ् मर्यादा वचने ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, मर्यादा-वचने, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् इत्येपरशब्दः मर्यादावचने कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

89. The word *ān* as far as, is *karma-pravachaniya* when it expresses limit (e. g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or, 'as far as exclusive of.')

The word *वचन* in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. As *आपाटलिपुत्राद् वृष्टो देवः*; it rained as far as (but excluding) Pātaliputra. *आपाटलिपुत्रं वृष्टो देवः*; it rained as far as (including) Pātaliputra. *आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः*; आर्साकाश्यात्, *आ मथुरायाः*; when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix it does not get this name.

लक्षणेत्यभूताख्यानभागधीप्सासु प्रति पर्यन्वः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥

लक्षण-इत्थंभूताख्यान-भाग-धीप्सासु, प्रति-परि-अन्वः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे इत्थंभूताख्याने भागे धीप्सायां च विषयभूतायां प्रति परि अन् इत्येते कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

90. The words prati, pari and anu are karma pravachaniya when used in the sense of 'sign' (in the direction of) 'mere statement of circumstance' ('as regards') 'division' 'share of' and 'pervasion' severally.

As (1) वृक्षं प्रति-परि or अन्नु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree.' (2) साधुदेवदत्तो मातरं प्रति—परि = अनु 'Devadatta is a good man as regards his mother.' (3) हरं प्रति हन्नाह्नं 'the poison fell to the share of Hara.' यदन्नमं प्रति स्यात् that it may fall to my share. So with परि and अनु. (4) वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति सिञ्चति he sprinkles one tree after another. So with परि and अनु.

अभिरभागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिः, अभागे (लक्षण इत्थं-  
भूताख्या० कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणादिष्वेव भागवर्जितेष्वभिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

91. The word abhi is karma-pravachaniya, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, 'share of.'

The illustrations given under the last sūtra <sup>अभि</sup> mutandi<sup>४</sup> apply here also, with the exception of those given under head (५)<sup>(३)</sup> As वृक्षमभि विद्योतते; मातरमभि &c. But it is not karma-pravachaniya when भाग is meant. भाग means the share which is allotted to one as his own. As यदन्नममांनि ष्यात् सद् दीयताम् give that which falls here to my share. Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore स of स्व is changed into ष.

प्रतिः प्रतिनिधिं प्रतिदानयोः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिः, प्रति-  
निधि-प्रतिदानयोः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिनिधिविषये प्रतिदाने विषये च प्रतिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

92. The word prati is karma-pravachaniya when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for.')

That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि. Giving in return for what is obtained, is प्रतिदान. As अभिमन्युरर्जुनतः प्रति Abhi-manyu is the representative of Arjuna. माषानस्त्रैः तिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति he exchanges Māshās for these sesamum. In these senses prati governs the Ablative (II. 3. 11).

अधिपरी अनर्थकौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-परी, अनर्थकौ,  
(कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधि परी ह्यन्यो अनर्थकौ अनर्थान्तरवाचिनो कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

93. The words adhi and pari are karma-pravachaniya when used as mere expletives.

As कुतोऽयागच्छति whence has he come? or कुतः पर्या गच्छति. These words though mere surplusages, have been called karmapravachaniya so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati and thus produce results peculiar to those words.

सुः पूजायाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुः, पूजायाम्, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु शब्दः पूजायामर्थे कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

94. The word su is karma-pravachaniya in the sense of respect, (when it means 'excellently').

As सुसिक्तं भवता, सु स्तुतं भवता excellently sprinkled by your honor. Well praised by your honor. By not being an upasarga, it does not change the स into ष (VIII. 3. 65).

Why do we say 'when respect is meant'? Observe सुसिक्तं किं तवाद्य has this your place been well sprinkled to-day.

अतिरतिक्रमणेषु ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतिः, अति क्रमणे, ष, (कर्मप्र० पूजायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति शब्दः अतिक्रमणे नकारात् पूजायां च कर्म प्रवचनीय संज्ञो भवति ॥

95. The word ati in the sense of super-abundance ('excessively') and 'excellently' is karma-pravachaniya.

The word अतिक्रमण means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object. The force of ष in the aphorism is to draw in the word पूजायाम् from the last. As अतिसिक्तमेष भवता. It has abundantly been sprinkled by your honor, अतिस्तुतमिव भवता so also अतिस्तुतं भवता excellently praised by your honor. अति सिक्तं भवता.

अपिः पदार्थे संभावनान्वयसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥  
अपिः, पदार्थे-संभावन-अन्वयसर्ग-गर्हा-समुच्चयेषु ( कर्म ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदार्थे संभावने ऽन्वयसर्गं गर्हायां समुच्चये ष वर्तमानः अपिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

96. The word api is karma-pravachaniya, when it implies, the sense of word understood ('somewhat') or possibility (e. g., 'even' in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, ('if you like'), or censure ('even' in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection ('and').

The word पदार्थ means the sense of another word which is not expressed but has to be supplied. As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् there may be perhaps a drop of ghee मधुनोऽपि स्यात्. Here some word like vindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little' mātrā 'a measure &c., has to be understood. The word संभावन means possibility, a supposition. As, अपि सिञ्चेत् मूजकसहस्रं क्षणेनैकेन possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment; अपि स्तुयाद् राजानं he may praise possibly, a king. In the above cases it is used with the potential mood. अन्वसर्ग means indifference on the part of the speaker where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As अपि सिञ्च you may sprinkle if you like. अपि स्तुहि you may praise if you like. The word गर्हा means censure, contempt or reproof. As धिग्जाल्मं देवदत्तमपि सिञ्चेत् पलाण्डुम्. The word समुच्चय means cumulative. As अपि स्तुहि—अपि सिञ्च praise as well as sprinkle.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the स into ष.

अपिरीश्वरे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिः, ईश्वरे । ( कर्मप्र० ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरः स्वामी स च स्वमपेक्षव । तदयं स्वस्वामि संवन्धः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंतो भवति ॥

97. The word adhi is karmapravachaniya when used in the sense of "lord" ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord").

The word ईश्वर means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master. The word adhi governs a Locative case. Sometime locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पंचालाः or अधि पंचालेषु ब्रह्मदत्तः. Brahmadatta rules over Panchālas.

विभाषा कृञि ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृञि - कर्मप्र० अधिः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिः करोती विभाषा कर्मप्रवचनीयसंतो भवति ॥

98. The word adhi is optionally karma pravachaniya when the verb कृि follows.

As यद्वन्न मामधि करिष्यति. Here the word अधि may be treated either as a गति or a कर्मप्रवचनीय. When it is a गति the accent will be regulated by S. VIII. 1. 71; otherwise not.

लः परस्मैपदम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लः , परस्मैपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लारेणः परस्मैपदसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

99. The substitutes of ल are called parasmaipada.

The word लः is in the genitive case, and means 'of ल.' The word लारेण 'substitutes' must be supplied to complete the sense. The term ल is a generic word for verb in general, viz., लद्, लिद् लुद् लृद्, लेद् लोद्, लृद् लिर् लृर् लृर्. The substitutes of ल are the well known personal terminations by which the verbs are conjugated in those tenses. Namely the following.

PARASMAIPADA.

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st Pers.	मिप्	वप्	मप्
2nd Pers.	सिप्	यप्	थ
3rd Pers.	तिप्	तप्	सि

And the affixes श् and क्त्सु ( III. 2. 107, and 124, and III. 4. 78 ).

तडानावात्मनेपदम् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ तड्-आनी आत्मनेपदम्,

( लः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेषु परस्मै पदसंज्ञायां प्राप्तायां तडानयोरालनेपदसंज्ञा विधीयते ॥

100. The nine affixes comprised under the Pratyâhâra तां and the two ending in âna (Sânach and Kânach), which are substitutes of ल are called Atmanepada.

The following are the Atmanepada affixes :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st	इद्	वहि	महिर्
2nd	याच्	आयान्	ध्वन्
3rd	त्	आतान्	स

And the affixes शानच् and कानच् ( III. 2. 106).

तिङ्श्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथम मध्यमोत्तमाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिङः ,  
श्रीणि , त्रीणि , प्रथम , मध्यम , उत्तमाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङोऽष्टादश मत्स्याः नव परस्मैपद संज्ञकाः नवात्मनेपदसंज्ञकाः सप्तपरस्मैपदेषु  
त्रयस्त्रिंशत्काः यथाक्रमम् प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञा भवन्ति । भालने पदेष्वपि त्रयस्त्रिंशत्काः प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञा  
भवन्ति ॥

101. The three triads in both the sets Paras-  
maipada and Atmanepada, of conjugational affixes (com-  
prised under the general name तिङ्, a pratyâhâra formed  
of the first and last of them, viz., tip and mahiñ) are  
called, in order, Lowest (3rd person of European Gram-  
mar, the middle (2nd person), and the highest (1st person).

Of the 19 conjugational affixes, above given ; 9 are Parasmaipadi and  
9 are Atmanepadi. Each of these two classes is subdivided into three classes,  
according to person, as shown in the above list.

तान्येकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचनान्येकशः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥  
तानि , एकवचन-द्विवचन-बहुवचनानि एकशः , ( त्रीणि २ ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तान्येकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति एकशः एकैकं पदम् ॥

102. These three triads of conjugational  
affixes, which have received the name of Lowest &c.,  
are called (as regard the three expressions in each triad)  
severally "the expression for one" (singular), "the ex-  
pression for two" (dual), and "the expression for many"  
(plural).

Of the six triads thus formed, each is divided according to number  
into three classes, viz., singular, dual, and plural.

सुपः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः , ( त्रीणि २ एकवचन द्विवचन बहु-  
वचनानि एकशः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपश्च त्रीणि त्रीणि पदानि एकश एकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

103. Of sup (which is a Pratyâhâra formed of  
su the first of the case affixes and the final p of the last  
of them) the three expressions in each successive set of  
the three, are also severally called singular, dual and  
plural.

The sup or the case-affixes by which nouns are declined are 21 in number corresponding to the seven cases, see sūtra IV. 1. 2. They also have three numbers singular, dual and plural.

विभक्तिश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभक्तिः, च, (त्रीणि २ सुपः तिङ्; ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रीणि त्रीणि विभक्ति संज्ञाश्च भवन्ति सुपस्तिङ्श्च ॥

104. The triads of conjugational affixes and case affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus सप्तमी विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, i. e., the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथमा विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

युष्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि मध्यमः ॥१०५॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मदि, उपपदे, समान-अधिकरणे, स्थानिनि, अपि, मध्यमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मद्युपपदे सति घ्यवहिते चाव्यवहिते सति समानाधिकरणे समानाभिधेये तुल्यकारके स्थानिनि प्रयुज्यमाने ऽप्यप्रयुज्यमाने ऽपि मध्यम पुरुषो भवति ॥

105. When the pronoun yushmad, "thou" understood, and also when the same expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the middle (2nd person).

This defines the 2nd person of conjugational affixes. As खं पचसि thou cookest or पचसि; युवां पचथः or पचथः you two are cooking; यूयं पचथ or पचथ you cook.

प्रहासे च मन्योपपदे मन्यतेरुत्तम एकवच्च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहासे, च, मन्य-उपपदे, मन्यतेः, उत्तमः, एकवत्, च, ( मध्यमः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रहासे गम्यमाने मन्योपपदे धातो मध्यमपुरुषो भवति, मन्यतेरुत्तमः स चैक वचनवति ॥

106. When joke is implied with reference to an action, the verb denoting it is used in the 2nd person; provided that the word manya 'to think' is the attendant word (upapada) of such verb, and of the verb manya itself, the affix must be of the 1st person and singular number.



The word प्रहास means joke, sport. As एवं मन्ये भोक्ष्यसे इति; नहि भोक्ष्यसे, भुक्तः सोऽतिथिभिः. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice,' thou shalt not eat, that has been eaten by a guest. एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यसि नहि यास्यसि, यावत्सेन ते पिता. I think thou wilt go by the chariot, no, thou wilt not, thy father has gone before thee on it. When joke is not intended, the proper persons should be used: as, एहि मन्यसे ओक्ष्ये भोक्ष्ये. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice.'

अस्मदुत्तमः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदि, उत्तमः, (उपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मदुपपदे समानाधिकरणे प्रयुज्यमाने व्यप्रयुज्यमाने ऽपि उत्तमपुरुषो भवति ॥

107. When the pronoun *asmad* "I," understood and also when expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the Highest or the 1st person.

This is clear. As भहं पचामि I cook, or merely पचामि-आर्वा पचावः or merely पचावः.

शेषे प्रथमः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे प्रथमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यत्र युष्मदस्मदी समानाधिकरणे उपपदे न स्तः तत्रशेषे प्रथमपुरुषो भवति ॥

108. In the other cases, namely where, "thou" or "I" are not the attendant words in agreement with the verb, there is the verbal termination called the Lowest (or 3rd person).

As पचति he cooks, पचतः they two cook. पचन्ति they cook.

परः संनिकर्षः संहिता, ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः संनिकर्षः, संहिता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परो यः संनिकर्षो वर्णाना मर्द्धमात्राकालव्यवधानं स संहितासंज्ञो भवति ॥

109. The closest proximity of letters, there being the intervention of half a *mātrā* or prosodial length between them, is called contact or *sanhitā*.

When words are in *sanhitā*, they are glued together by the rules of *sandhi*. As इक्ष्वाण = इधि + क्ष्वाण.

द्विराभौ अवसानम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विरामः अवसानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विरति विरामः । विरम्यते अनेनेति वा विरामः । सोऽवसानसंतो भवति ॥

110. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasāna.

The word avasāna occurs in sūtras VIII. 3. 15 &c.

